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EDITED BY
D. C. SIRCAR



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Our Journal

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Our reviewers are requested to give an idea about the contents of the books, emphasising their merits, but without totally suppressing glaring defects. They may discuss the points on which they disagree with the authors, substantiating their views with arguments. But the reviews are not expected to be either too lengthy or too short, nor should they contain mere vague praise or denunciation. The authors and publishers have to submit two copies of each book for review.

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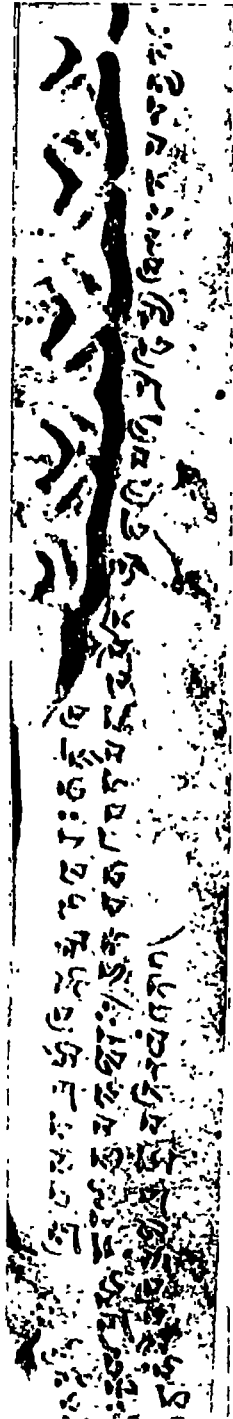
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PLATE I



Umā-Maheśvara Image Inscription from Skandar, Afghanistan (p. 4)

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ARTICLES

UMĀ-MAHEŚVARA IMAGE INSCRIPTION FROM SKANDAR (AFGHANISTAN)

I

P L. GUPTA

In January, 1971, when I visited the Kyoto University, Japan, Prof. Takayasu Higuchi, Head of the Department of Archæology, showed me the photograph of an Umā-Maheśvara image which an Archæological Mission, led by him, had discovered during the excavations at Tapa Skandar, a mound situated some miles away to the north of Kabul in the plain of Kapisa. The image is carved into a marble piece, 81.5 cm high and 42 cm wide and about 18 cm thick. It was found broken into several pieces, but could be properly restored to show Maheśvara, seated and resting on the bull Nandin, slightly inclined to his right, with the right leg pendent and the left one bent. The god bears four hands ; the front right hand lifted (but now missing) and the rear right hand resting on the knee ; his front left hand rests on the shoulder of his consort Umā, and the rear left hand holds the trident and is visible over the head of Umā. Umā is standing in the *tribhaṅga* pose to the left of Maheśvara a little reclining over him ; a child, probably Skanda, is shown beside her, at the bottom, at her left. The image has decorations painted in red, blue and black. The pedestal of the image bears a three-line inscription. Prof. Higuchi gave me a photograph of this inscription and sought my help in its decipherment. Sometime later, I passed on the photograph to Prof. D. C. Sircar. In the meanwhile, the inscription was deciphered by Mr. Meiji Yamada and his

transcript appears in a preliminary report entitled *Archaeological Survey of Kyoto University in Afghanistan*, 1970.

Mr. Yamada has deciphered the inscription as follows :

- 1 *eka-mūtti(rti)-ttri(tri)-vāsanā brahmā viṣṇurmma(ma
heṣvaraḥ karttā(rtā) vi-*
- 2 *snu(ṣṇu)ḥ kr(kri)yā brahma(mā) kāraṇa tu maheṣvaraḥ
ukta ca bhagavatā mahādevena ya [da, dva] [pi] ma
[ti] [mu] di [sya ?] vi [tsa, sta ?] raṁ ne (no, teno ?)
palabhyate [vā, dhā ?]*
- 3 *ta [dva] haṁ daiva viṣṇuṣya(sya) brahmā ca nilayaṁ
gatā (?)*

II

D. C. SIRCAR

On receipt of the photograph of the Tapa Skandar (Afghanistan) Umā-Maheśvara image inscription from Dr. P. L. Gupta, I deciphered the record and read a small paper on it at the Monthly Seminar held at the Centre of Advanced Study in AIHC, Calcutta University, on the 21st August, 1972. Only on receipt of the above note of Dr. Gupta, I came to know recently that the inscription is inscribed on the pedestal of a marble Umā-Maheśvara-Kārttikeya panel discovered as a result of excavations at Tapa Skandar to the north of Kabul and that its transcript prepared by a Japanese scholar named Meiji Yamada has already been published. Unfortunately, Mr. Yamada has failed to do any justice to the epigraph. His attention may be drawn to the fact that reduplication of a consonant in conjunction with *r* is optional according to Sanskrit grammar and that *Viṣṇuṣya* is not expected in the Sanskrit text. His reading of the epigraph does not offer any sense at all.

The epigraph reminds us of the Kabul Vināyaka image inscription of the 8th regnal year of the Śāhī king Khaṅgāla who flourished in the sixth or seventh century A.D. The said

ed image had been discovered at Gardez about 70 miles south of Kabul, but was later removed to Kabul where it is being worshipped by the local Hindus at Dargah Pir Ratan Nāth near the Pamir Cinema. On palaeographical consideration, the present inscription, which does not mention any king, may also be assigned to the period of the Gardez-Kabul inscription, its script being late Brāhmī of the 6th or 7th century A. D. The letters exhibit inaccurate formation though they are very carefully engraved. The letter *b* has been written with the sign of *p* or *v*.

There are only three lines of writing, which contain two stanzas in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre with a short intervening passage in prose. The first line of writing is half the length of the second line because the lower end of the gown or toga of a standing figure seems to cover the space to the right of the former. The representation of the clothing is in the Gandhāra style.

The first of the two stanzas states how the single form became triple in the shapes of Brahman, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara of whom the first is the *Kartṛ*, the second the *Kriyā* and the third the *Kāraṇa*. It seems that the words *kartṛ* (actor), *kriyā* (action) and *kāraṇa* (cause) have been used here in the senses respectively of the creator, the creation and the motive behind the creation, even though, in Brāhmanical mythology, the gods Brahman, Viṣṇu and Śiva-Maheśvara are usually represented as the creator, the preserver and the destroyer.

The second stanza, which is difficult to read and interpret, is quoted as the words of Mahādeva (i.e. Śiva) probably saying that in an attempt to purify them by throwing themselves into fire, the god himself as well as Viṣṇu and Brahman went to hell.

It is difficult to understand the real import of the second part of the inscription. However, the author of the record was

apparently a Śaiva trying to represent Śiva, out of the trinity, as greater than Viṣṇu and Brahman. From the contents of the record, I was inclined to think that the stone bearing the inscription contained the figures of Śiva-Maheśvara together with Viṣṇu and Brahman, though it is stated now to be a Maheśvara-Umā-Kārttikeya panel.

TEXT¹

- 1 Eka-mū[r]ttis = tridhā jātā Pra(Bra)hmā Viṣṇ[u]r =
Maheśvaraḥ (/*)
karttā Vi-
- 2 [snu]ḥ kṛ(kri yā Pra(Bra)hmā [k]āraṇaṇ = tu
Maheśvaraḥ o/
uktañ = ca bhagavatā Mahādevena (/*)
Ye(Ya)th = āg[n]im = agi(bhi)prakṣipya viś[o]dhā(dha)-
n-opalakṣaṇaṁ(nam)/
- 3 kṛtv = āhaṁ c = aiva Viṣṇuś = ca Vra(Bra)hmā ca nira-
yaṁ gatā(h*) //

1 From a photograph.

VARNAS IN ANCIENT CAMBODIA*

I. W. MABBETT

The subject of the *varṇas* mentioned in Cambodian inscriptions, and of the associated problem of assessing any influence of the Indian caste system, has been usefully discussed by others.¹ It may reasonably be regarded as established by previous writings that the references to the *varṇas* and to other apparent signs of Indian social organization do not in fact show a Cambodian system at all similar to the Indian one. The discussion has succeeded in making this negative point ; in doing so it has, largely incidentally, lent support to these two positive propositions : (a) the Cambodian free population was divided into socio-economic groups somewhat like Indian castes, and many of them were called *varṇas*, even though the relations between them and the working of the whole system were not like the Indian pattern ; (b) the Cambodian monarch had great powers of creation and control in the management of society, going far beyond the Indian monarch's responsibilities which were largely limited to the protection of existing institutions. The purpose here is to review the evidence on *varṇas* and to show that the picture it reveals serves to cast some doubt on the said propositions.

A proper understanding of the subject requires attention to two very large factors which deserve far more extended treatment than can be accorded here. The first is the nature

* [Lecture delivered at the Centre of Advanced Study in AIHC, Calcutta University, on 1.12.72.—Ed.]

1 See, e.g., K. Kishore 'Varṇas in Early Kambuja Inscriptions', *JAOS*, Vol. 85 (1965), pp. 566-69 ; A. K. Chakravarti, 'The Caste System in Ancient Cambodia', *JAIH*, Vol. IV, pp. 14-59.

of the Indian caste system itself, which needs some characterization if we are to be able to assess any influence or analogue it may have had in Cambodia. Such a characterization, however, is far from straightforward. The nature of the caste system has been a subject of sophisticated debate, and sometimes esoteric and polemic, among anthropologists, Indologists and historians, and various fundamental theoretical issues have been raised by the discussion. No more can be done here than to point to some of the elements of the problem and indicate some ways in which they may affect the interpretation of the Cambodian material.

The second is the nature of Indian social and cultural influence in South-East Asia as a whole, the necessary background against which the extent and significance of various Indian influences in Cambodia should be judged. This too is a complex matter; many different theories and interpretations have been put forward to account for the 'Indianization' of the early kingdoms or to assess its penetration. All that can be done here is to summarize some of the essential conclusions arising from a broader study, the results of which are to be published elsewhere.

In the following paragraphs, the Indian caste system will first be reviewed, with brief attention to the views of some writers about the contrast between an Indian and a Cambodian king's powers over social organization. Then, after a glance at the evidence of Indian castes elsewhere in South-East Asia, the literature on caste in Cambodia will be noticed. A discussion of the inscriptional evidence about Cambodian *varṇas* will lead to some conclusions about their nature, about the role of the king in Cambodian society as compared with Indian, and about Indian social influence generally.

Any useful account of the caste system must distinguish between two different but related schemes which have often

But the starting point must be the adoption of this distinction. 'Caste' must be reserved to translate *jāti*; *varṇas* must be thought of in some other way. T. R. Trautmann, emphasiz-

2 M. N. Srinivas, *Caste in Modern India and Other Essays* (Bombay, 1952), pp. 63-69, cf. E. Senart, *Les Castes dans l'Inde* (Paris, 1890), pp. 42f.

ing that they are regarded as sacred and permanent categories rather than social and contingent, suggests that 'order' or 'estate' will furnish a more satisfactory translation.³ The *varṇas* are very commonly mentioned (the *jātis* very rarely) in the Sanskrit normative literature, in which social, ritual, religious and political duties are spelled out and in every conceivable context applied in differing ways to the four orders. In most matters the differences have the effect of favouring the higher orders (fines and punishments, for example, being graded according to rank), though there are cases where the discrimination works the other way on the principle presumably that the higher orders have greater responsibility.

According to the theory embodied in the Sanskrit texts, the three higher *varṇas* are the Aryan population, the Śūdras being those aboriginal elements admitted to the caste system, but denied all privileges within it. The 'three *varṇas*', where mentioned, are the three Aryan orders, which are regarded as 'twice-born' (*dvija*), the second birth being ritual initiation. The four orders are supposed to be endogamous, though the texts are ambiguous and in some places appear to tolerate some forms of hypergamy. Various groups other than the four orders are named, these being seen as the offspring of inter-*varṇa* marriage or *liaison* (*varṇa-saṅkara*), in various permutations, none of which is very much approved. This theory is commonly seen by modern writers as a means of accommodating to the procrustean bed of Smṛti theory the variety of social groups in actual existence.

There is a sense in which one can speak of five *varṇas*, though without sanction from the religious texts, for the untouchables, though theoretically outside the system, are in an important sense a part of it in practice, since their relations

3. 'On the Translation of the Term *varṇa*', *Journ. Econ. Soc. Hist. Or.*, Vol. 7 (1964), pp. 106-201.

with and behaviour towards members of the *varṇa* or caste population are prescribed by it. What the system nowhere prescribes, and what therefore is something of a curiosity, is the idea of seven *varṇas* (*sapta-varṇa*), which, as it finds an echo in Cambodia as well as being mentioned in one or two foreign sources concerning India, deserves brief discussion here even though it will not be possible to offer any firm conclusions about it.

Greek sources using the account of India by the ambassador Megasthenes, who was at the Magadhan court about 300 B.C., enumerates seven *varṇas* as described to him.⁴ These, following the version given by Diodorus, which contains the most common elements among the insignificant variations, are : philosophers, husbandmen, cowherds and shepherds, hunters, artificers, warriors, inspectors, and the counsellors and assessors of the king. Some of these partially correspond to some of the four *varṇas*. A much later visitor to India, Ibn Khurdadba, who died in 912 A.D., records these as the 'seven classes of Hindus' in the *Kitābu-l Masālik wā-l Mamālik* : Sabkufria (including kings, and revered by the rest), Brahma (who drink no alcohol), Kataria (who drink no more than three cups of wine and whose daughters could be married to the Brahma class), Sudaria (husbandmen), Baisura (artificers and domestics), Sandalia (menials), and Lahud (who were fond of amusements and games of skill).⁵ This list too has obvious partial correspondences to the orthodox list. What a juxtaposition of the two suggests is that there was an idea of seven *varṇas* floating in the stream of Indian lore, which was never admitted into orthodoxy and could be interpreted in different

4 Diodorus, II. 40-41 ; see J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian* (Bombay, 1877), fragment 34, pp. 85-87. [Read 'shepherds and hunters'.—Ed.]

5 See Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. I (Allahabad/Lucknow, 1953), pp. 16f. ; cf. p. 76.

ways. These seven were meaningful classes of society as seen through palace windows. That is, it makes sense from the king's point of view to see counsellors or entertainers as classes in the society around him parallel to husbandmen and so forth. If we find the idea of *sapta-varṇa* in ancient Cambodia, it may be entirely fortuitous and mean nothing very much ; but at least it need not be surprising if we find that Cambodian *varṇas* represent classes of people as seen from the palace.

*Jāti*s are quite unlike *varṇas* in various ways. The word *jāti* means 'birth', and is frequently used in this sense in Sanskrit literature. Commonly, in the Buddhist period, it was used to refer to the *varṇas* themselves.⁶ Normally nowadays, however, the term refers to a caste proper, an endogamous group with its own rituals, commonly practising commensality and refusing to dine with other castes, associated with a particular profession which all its members are expected to follow, and recognizing relationships of inferiority or superiority with other castes according to various more or less ritual criteria (meat-eating or vegetarianism, and so forth). The actual unit of endogamy may be what is known normally as a subcaste (though some would use the word 'caste' for this segment), which is a restricted section with its own characteristics, sometimes distinct in many ways from those of the caste, of which it is part. Names of subcastes often refer to the particular places where they live, those of castes often referring to their traditional professions which, however, may not be the professions which they actually follow.

The characteristics of castes just mentioned recall the three criteria used by C. Bouglé, whose article on caste first appeared in 1900 and was later included in his *Essais sur le Regime des Castes*, published in 1908. The criteria are the mutual repul-

⁶ See R. Fick, *Die Sociale Gliederung in Nordöstlichen Indien zu Buddhas Zeit* (Kiel, 1897). [Eng. trans. by S. Maitra, Calcutta, 1920. —Ed.]

sion of the caste groups, their hereditary professions, and the hierarchy in which they are arranged.⁷ This combination makes the Indian caste system as such unique, even though elements of it are found elsewhere.

As for a discussion of the nature of the caste system, it will be enough here to refer to the analyses made by two writers, in each of which there is a conspectus of the previous literature on the subject summarizing the views of such authorities as H. H. Risley,⁸ J. C. Nesfield,⁹ E. Senart,¹⁰ E. A. H. Blunt,¹¹ and A. M. Hocart.¹² The first of these is J. H. Hutton who, in the conclusion to his *Caste in India*,¹³ attaches importance to religious ideas such as *mana* inhering in the social organization of the small, separate pre-Aryan communities, traces of which may be observed in the fringe areas of Indian culture today. Each community, it is argued, had its own traditional profession, was endogamous, and refrained from sharing food with other communities. Most features of the caste system were there before the Aryans came; the remaining element, hierarchy, was imposed on the organization resulting from Aryan conquest by associating the several communities, as castes, with the hierarchical, though not originally hereditary, Aryan scheme of *varṇas*. This explanation, as may easily be seen, accounts for the apparently awkward and artificial relationship between *jāti* and *varṇa*.

7 C. Bouglé, 'Remarques sur le Regime des Castes'. *Année Sociologique*, Vol. 4 (1900), pp. 1-64; *Essais sur le Regime des Castes* (Paris, 1908); trans. *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, No. 2 (1958), pp. 7-30.

8 H. H. Risley, *The People of India* (London, 1908). [Ed. Crooke, 1915.—Ed.]

9. J. C. Nesfield, *Brief Review of the Caste System of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh* (Allahabad, 1885).

10 E. Senart, *op. cit.*

11 E. A. H. Blunt, *The Caste System of Northern India* (London, 1951).

12 A. M. Hocart, *Caste, A Comparative Study* (London, 1950).

13 J. H. Hutton, *Caste in India* (London, 1946/1961), pp. 183-91.

The other authority to be considered here is L. Dumont who looks at *jātis* from a different point of view.¹⁴ He considers that such writers as J. H. Hutton err in treating *jātis* as fundamental entities sufficient to themselves, whereas their essential reality is derived from the whole system of which they are a part. Thus, hierarchy is the fundamental principle, and the other features, endogamy and the rest, are to be derived from it. The hierarchy is ritual, and the castes rank themselves by applying criteria of purity and impurity. Endogamy arises because each caste refuses marriage into castes considered lower and is in turn refused by the higher. Everybody knows who are the highest in the scale, the Brāhmana being the most pure and the untouchables, the most impure ; but, in the middle of the scale, the two ends of which are firmly established by ritual criteria, the realities of power and politics are admitted. Castes of the Kṣatriyas, or locally powerful castes of any *varṇa*, achieve high rank even though the ordinary criteria of ritual usage imply that they should be ranked lower.* At the heart of the system lies the separation between the political power of the king and the religious authority of the priest ; the scale of status is thus essentially religious, acknowledging the facts of power by encompassing them within itself. These views introduce us to the idea of the dominant caste which holds land in any one area and has a number of dependent castes around it, an important idea associated with the work of M. N. Srinivas,¹⁵ and to the dialectic whereby caste is seen as a system, not as a sum of parts, in which the elements are arranged by a series of binary oppositions ; castes are ranked by applying criteria of purity-impurity, and, as for *varṇas*, in

14 L. Dumont, *Homo Hierarchicus* (Paris, 1966 ; Eng. trans., Chicago, 1970).

* [Cf. Sircar, *The Guhilas of Kīṣkindhā*, p. 18.—Ed.]

15 See M. N. Srinivas, *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India* (Oxford, 1952).

the words of G. Dumézil, "Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya et Vaiśya... ne sont pas à numéroter 'un, deux, trois'. Le Brāhmaṇa se définit d'abord par opposition au Kṣatriya ; puis tous deux se concilient et collaborent dans une notion nouvelle de 'puissance'...qui se définit aussitôt en s'opposent le Vaiśya ; à son tour cette opposition se résout par synthèse dans le *dvija*, 'le deux fois né', face auquel surgit le Śūdra."¹⁶

The same authority sees the first term in this series, the Brāhmaṇa, as itself the resolution of an earlier Indo-European *Rāja-Brāhmaṇa* combining priestly and royal attributes and represented by the gods Mitra and Varuṇa.¹⁷

These are two ways of looking at caste ; but there are various others represented in the scholarly literature, not all of them necessarily mutually exclusive, and it would be well to list a few before trying to see how the problem of understanding the caste system affects the study of the situation in Cambodia. The following ideas about caste may be distinguished :

(a) It was devised by the Brāhmaṇas and imposed on the society, perhaps in collaboration with the Kṣatriyas, as a way of maintaining priestly privileges. This idea is still commonly met in historical literature ; but at best it cannot be regarded as a complete explanation. We still have to understand why the bulk of the population should accept the system, with all its complex features ; and when we understand why they should accept it, perhaps the idea of legislation is no longer necessary.

(b) The distinction between the Aryan conquerors and the Nonaryan subjects with their different colours (*varṇas*) became elaborated into a more complex scheme, the ranking of different classes being influenced perhaps by the degree of intermarriage with the indigenes. This idea too leaves the most important questions unanswered.

(c) Most of the features of

¹⁶ G. Dumézil, *Mitrā-Varuṇa* (Paris, 1948), p. 76.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 77 f.

the system were to be found in the pre-Aryan tribes, only lacking hierarchy which was supplied by assimilation of the Aryan ideas of ritual status embodied in *varṇas*. (d) Castes arose from the division of labour, each specializing in a particular function and becoming a self-contained community or guild. It has been objected that too many observable facts are left unexplained by this idea, including notably hierarchy. (e) The system developed from the separation of the ritual from the political as a hierarchy of status based on ideas of purity, from which the other features developed.

This survey of the subject shows that writers have sought to understand caste on a number of different and interacting levels : as the result of a historical process, as a form of social organization, as a latent system of ideas, in which all the parts can be understood only by reference to the whole. There is room for debate about the extent to which an answer on one level implies an answer on another. For example, even if we accept the existence of the integrated system of ideas, we may still find room for debate about the historical circumstances in which caste developed.

The foregoing glance at the caste system brings to attention the following points which may affect a consideration of the evidence of *varṇas* in Cambodia : (a) the distinction between theoretical *varṇas* and practical *jātis*, however provisional this distinction may be, which will assist us to distinguish between the importation of Indian ideas and the importation of Indian behaviour ; (b) the possibility that there was an idea of seven *varṇas* reflecting the perspective of the palace ; (c) the idea that the original constituent units of the system were tribal groups participating in the 'austronesian' culture, in which Indochina also participated ;¹⁸ (d) the idea that the caste

18 See P. Mus. 'Cultes Indiens et Indigènes au Champa,' *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, Vol XXXIII (1933), pp. 367-410.

system is essentially derived from the separation of the religious and ritual from the political, a separation which, it has been argued, was not paralleled in Indochina where therefore there could be nothing genuinely like the caste system.

This last point must be taken up first. It will be accepted that there was nothing genuinely like the caste system in Cambodia; but it may be doubted whether this is ultimately accountable to the contrast presumed between royal power in India and royal power in Indochina.

L. Dumont writes: "In order to decide whether one can speak of a caste system in society, one must ask: are status and power completely dissociated, can one find the equivalent of the Brāhmaṇa-Kṣatriya relationship? This question, though it may appear improper, has the virtue of immediately fixing a limit to Indian influence in South-East Asia. Important as this influence has been both from the cultural and even social point of view, it would seem, roughly speaking, that nowhere in Indochina and Indonesia has the king been dispossessed of his religious prerogatives."¹⁹

This idea of such a contrast between the two regions is very widespread. R. Lingat, for example, has seen the creation by a Cambodian monarch of two new *varṇas* as something that an Indian theorist could not have accommodated in his scheme of ideas,²⁰ and A. K. Chakravarti follows this view, remarking that whereas in India a king was the protector and preserver of *dharma* and of the caste system, but would never innovate or reform, in Cambodia there were socio-economic categories of the people, called by Indian names but unlike the Indian system, 'created, maintained and manoeuvred by the State to

¹⁹ L. Dumont, *op. cit.* (Eng. ed.), p. 215.

²⁰ R. Lingat, 'La Influence Juridique de l'Inde au Champa et au Cambodge d'après l'Épigraphie', *Journ. As.* (1949), pp. 237ff. [For traditions regarding change of the status of a caste as a result of royal attitude in India, cf. Risley, *op. cit.*, 1915, pp. 119-20.—Ed.]

suit its purpose, administrative and fiscal.²¹ Thus two systems are commonly seen : an Indian one in which status is based on ritual criteria essentially divorced from political power and not controlled by it, and an Indochinese one in which royal power embraces religious and ritual matters.

For the moment, this view need only be noticed. There is no space for a full discussion of it here, and no attempt will be made to offer any decisive refutation. It is quite likely that the distinction made by these writers corresponds to an important difference between the way in which people thought about themselves in the two areas, and of course thought cannot be completely isolated from behaviour. Nevertheless, it may be somewhat misleading. It helps to perpetuate a view of a Cambodian despotism which was probably not wielded in fact. The following consideration of the South-East Asian evidence will suggest that royal powers over the disposition of *varṇas* did not amount to the sort of social engineering that is too easily imagined to have taken place.

In the early centuries of the Christian era, there was a very considerable Indian cultural influence on the lands across the Bay of Bengal, both in the archipelago and on the mainland. Though there have been many differing views among modern writers about the extent, manner, provenance and penetration of this influence, all admit that Indian religious ideas exercised a very obvious influence on the usages of kings and their courts, even if this was, in a sense, a superficial influence. But all, equally, admit that there is little or no sign of transference of the Indian social organization.

One apparent exception is the island of Bali, a museum of Hindu culture surrounded by (at least superficial) Islamization. There is room for debate about the extent to which the Balinese system of 'castes' can really be described as Indian.

21 A. K. Chakravarti, *op. cit.*, pp. 55f.

One writer, C. Geertz, has argued that the apparently Indian *varṇas* are little more than clusters of indigenous ritual hereditary titles, ranked in a hierarchy that has only psychological reality and does not correspond to the degrees, in real life, of wealth and influence.²²

Other writers have seen in Bali various features which certainly look Indian. Membership of the castes is inherited, and it affects possible marriages, beliefs in food contamination, and the use of High or Low Balinese according to the person addressed. It has been thought that the system came indirectly from India *via* colonists from the mediaeval empire of Majapahit.²³

Generally throughout the region, however, it is the isolated elements of the caste or the *varṇa* system that remain to attest any Indian social influence that there might have been, and it is questionable how far the system can be said to have any reality when it is represented by a few such elements rather than the set of hierarchical relationships. Groups of Brāhmaṇas at the courts of the Indochinese monarchs, unaccompanied by any division of the population into the other *varṇas*, have survived into the present century. In Thailand, for example, there is a class of so-called Brāhmaṇas whose traditions have been traced to the South Indian Kailāsaparamparā school, their cult probably dating from early times and their personnel probably descended from later Indian immigrants,

22 *Person, Time and Conduct in Bali: an Essay in Cultural Analysis* (New Haven, 1966). As we noticed above, the relationship between status and power in the Indian caste system itself is not a straightforward one.

23. See W. F. Wertheim et al. (eds.), *Bali: Studies in Life, Thought and Ritual* (The Hague, 1960) (especially pp. 16-35, 289-300); J. van Baal et al. (eds.), *Bali: Further Studies in Life, Thought and Ritual* (The Hague, 1969) (especially pp. 199-212).

not Brāhmaṇas in the strict sense, but so regarded at court.²⁴ Brāhmaṇism, as has been pointed out, was equipped to supply the ritual trappings of court cults in a way that the official Theravāda Buddhism was not.

In Cambodia, first studied systematically by the French in the nineteenth century, a hierarchy of social classes was then indeed recognized, though the correspondences to the *varṇa* scheme were very slight. There were six classes: the royal family, the *prea vongsa*, the *bakus*, the Buddhist monks, the free population, the slaves.²⁵ These classes are not governed by rules of endogamy, they do not have a great corpus of ritual prescribed for each of them as in the Indian system; and they represent a view of society from the palace. The second class, the *prea vongsa*, has been seen as a corruption of *varṇa-saṅkara*; it consisted of people descended from monarchs after five generations without marrying up into a higher rank. "Ils forment une sorte de corporation privilégiée assez semblable aux castes de l'Inde," wrote J. Moura, comparing them to an Indian caste.²⁶ The daughters of these people were supposed to marry in caste or up into the royal family, but not down. The *bakus*—the term rendered alternatively by the same authority as *pream*, equivalent to *Brāhmaṇa*—were partly religious figures with some political influence at the palace; for three days each year according to tradition, the king would abdicate in their favour. J. Moura saw this as a sign of the ancient idea of Brāhmaṇa superiority over the royal Kṣātriya.²⁷ It is

24 J. Filliozat, 'Kailāsaparamparā', *Felicitation Volume of South-East Asian Studies presented to H. H. Prince Dhaninivat*, Vol II (Bangkok, 1965), pp. 241-47.

25 J. Moura, *Le Royaume de Cambodge* (Paris, 1883), Vol. I, pp. 325ff.

26 *Ibid.*, p. 325.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 328. But see A. K. Chakravarti, *op. cit.*, p. 56, note 156. Here, *baku* is derived from *pakva*, and *baku* rights to the throne after the royal family are seen as a sign of their indigenous, not Indian, descent.

doubtful, however, how far we may seek in nineteenth-century Cambodia any unambiguous signs of what may usefully be called a caste system. The various French authorities of the time reveal to us a confusion of categories of dignitaries created by royal elevation and by heredity, overlapping in various ways and seeming to serve chiefly the purpose of linking the elite in a complex network that allowed considerable flexibility.²⁸

Evidence of use of the *varṇa* terminology in Cambodia comes from the numerous inscriptions in Khmer and Sanskrit dating from early times, notably during the Angkorian period, but with some before and a few after. It is the role of *varṇas* in the society revealed by these inscriptions that must now be examined. The allusions in the sources are not only to *varṇas* as such, but also to the two highest *varṇas*, the Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya (the latter normally referred to as Kṣatra).

The views of earlier writers must first be noticed. The comment of R. Lingat on the case of a king creating two *varṇas* has been noted above. B.N. Puri has made a study of references to Indians in Cambodia in ancient times, using largely epigraphic sources,²⁹ and shows that these people, who included both Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas, had considerable prestige. K. K. Sarkar, in a recent study of Indian influences revealed in the inscriptions, has listed six Indians known to Khmer and Funanese inscriptions and Chinese sources;³⁰ these are all Brāhmaṇas. B.R. Chatterjee has noticed apparent references to Indian castes and remarked that the caste regulations appeared

28 See A. Leclerc, *Codes Cambodgiens*, p. 91, art. VIII, and *Recherches sur le Droit Public des Cambodgiens* (Paris, 1844), pp. 120ff.

29 B. N. Puri, 'Some Aspects of Social Life in Ancient Kambujadesa', *Journ. Great. Ind. Soc.*, Vol. XV, Part 2 (1956), pp. 85-92.

30 K. K. Sarkar, *Early Indo-Cambodian Contacts, Literary and Linguistic* (Santiniketan, 1968), p. 7.

to be more elastic in Cambodia than in India.³¹ K. Kishore, in a study specifically directed to the *varṇas* mentioned in inscriptions, offers the following conclusions:³² (1) Though the lowest two *varṇas* are not mentioned as such, references to *varṇas* which appear to identify them as merchant communities may be seen as evidence of the existence of the Vaiśya *varṇa*, and references to *dāsas*, slaves, represent the Śūdra *varṇa*; (2) Brāhmaṇas of both sexes marry into the royal family, a sign of 'harmony' between the *varṇas* and the source of a mixed class called Brahma-Kṣatra (often named as such in inscriptions); (3) References to Brāhmaṇas employed as elephant-drivers and in some other non-priestly categories show that, unlike their Indian counterparts,* they were not particular about their occupations; (4) *Varṇas* appear to have been in many cases professional communities, and the term does not necessarily stand for 'caste' in the Indian sense.

Some rather similar conclusions have been reached by A. K. Chakravarti, who has made the following points: (1) The term *varṇ-āśrama* was a special Cambodian usage to refer to free men as opposed to slaves. Though there was no parallel verbal usage in India, there was a similar process, whereby the indigenous population was absorbed into Hindu society.³³ (2) The Kompon Thom inscription refers to groups headed by the three principal *sanjaks*, into which alone the women of the two newly created *varṇas* may marry. These three high castes may perhaps be added to the 'seven *varṇas*' mentioned elsewhere to show that there were at least ten castes into which society was divided.³⁴ (3) Pre-Angkorian references to

31 B. R. Chatterjee, *Indian Cultural Influences in Cambodia*.

32 K. Kishore, *loc. cit.*

* [There is no dearth of Brāhmaṇas in non-priestly professions in Indian sources.—Ed.]

33 *Op. cit.*, pp. 15-18.

34 *Ibid.*, pp. 18-20.

four *jātis* suggest that the original Indian immigrants set up a system of four classes which they called *jātis* when they 'really meant *varṇas*'. These, later proliferating and reorganized under the king, came to be called *varṇas* as a result of the same terminological confusion—the reverse of the process in India, where *varṇas* proliferated into *jātis*.³⁵ (4) The Brāhmanas in Cambodia were something like their Indian counterparts, but Kṣatra and Kṣatriya referred only to rulers, and Vaiśyas were not mentioned.³⁶ (5) References to members of a single priestly, or sometimes priestly, family following a variety of different occupations through the generations show that the *varṇas* were not always hereditary and functional.³⁷ (6) Examples of Brāhmaṇas of both sexes intermarrying with royalty show that, in contrast to India, women could marry freely into higher *varṇas* and, more particularly, into lower. The Brahma-Kṣatra mixed offspring could in some contexts be seen as constituting a separate caste.³⁸ (7) After about the time of Jayavarman IV, kings started to claim more than the Indian responsibility of protecting the *varṇas*; they began to create new ones, transfer individuals and even whole villages from one *varṇa* to another, and assert their authority over *dharma* and *śāstra* generally.³⁹

It can be seen that, even where considerable difference between the Indian and Cambodian scenes is acknowledged, some of the views noted above nevertheless contain the assumptions that (a) Cambodian priests were a *varṇa*; (b) Cambodian royalty was a *varṇa*; (c) *varṇas* were classes into which the free population was divided; and (d) therefore, in con-

35 *Ibid.*, pp. 20-24. 36 *Ibid.*, p. 25.

37 *Ibid.*, pp. 28-33. 38 *Ibid.*, pp. 44-46.

39 *Ibid.*, pp. 48-55. [For the king's claim to be *samyag-vyavasthāpita-varṇa-āśram-ācāra*, see *CII*, Vol. III, p. 177; for rise in the Dombas' status in Kashmir, see Ray, *DHNI*, p. 126.—Ed.]

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trolling and disposing of *varṇas*, the king was engaging in social engineering of a sort unknown in India. It is these assumptions that need to be tested against the inscriptional evidence.

The fact that an inscription commonly refers to events long before its own date means that it is difficult to observe a strict chronological sequence in looking at the references to *varṇas*. In what follows, an approximately chronological order will be followed. This reveals a great concentration of relevant material around the reign of Sūryavarman I, in the first half of the eleventh century, a concentration which is partly to be explained by the fact that a disproportionately large number of inscriptions belong to that period anyway. It may be that *varṇas*, in the strict sense which Cambodian usage gave the term, were not prominent at other times, but there are several references to them in earlier and later reigns during the Angkorian period.

The first allusion to notice does not mention *varṇas* at all. An inscription of 960 A.D. (of the reign of Rājendravarman II) mentions a dignitary who informs the king of his intention to buy land from three named individuals, from the *varga* of Khmāp and from the *varga* of Añcen.⁴⁰ This procedure of 'informing the king' is very commonly mentioned in inscriptions as part of the routine of land transactions. Añcen is mentioned elsewhere as the name of a *deśa*.⁴¹ Two considerations justify attention to this reference to *vargas*. One is the fact that a *varga*, local community, is here represented as disposing of land in exactly the same way as are *varṇas* in many other inscriptions; it is as if the terms were interchangeable. The other is the meaning of *varga* which occurs in the Sanskrit texts as a

40. G. Coedes, *Inscriptions du Cambodge* (8 Vols., Hanoi/Paris, 1937-66), Vol. 4. pp. 102-105 at p. 103, South Pier, II. 1-6.

41 *Ibid*, p. 104, note 2.

general term for small communities within a kingdom—*iātis* (castes in the strict sense), professional guilds and villages alike, categories which in the nature of the caste system perhaps tended to flow into each other.

One stanza of the eulogy in the Pre Rup foundation stele inscription of Rājendravarman claims for him that his word was directed not only to the regulation of dignities (*padavidhi*), but also to the regulation of *varṇas*.⁴² In another stanza it is said that he ameliorated the condition of the *varṇas*.⁴³ Both these allusions, however, tell us nothing about historical reality other than that contents and conventions of Sanskrit poetics were familiar in Cambodia, where the employment of the *double entendre* achieved special favour. *Varṇa* can mean 'letter' of the alphabet among other things, and both these stanzas form part of an extended eulogy the whole of which is concerned to magnify its subject's excellence by a series of equivalences. The first of these two stanzas can be read to mean that the king was an authority in matters concerning words, letters and grammatical rules as well as that he controlled dignities and *varṇas*. The second can be read to mean (by employing a reference to a rule of the grammarian Pāṇini about the addition of the letter *n* to the stem of certain nouns in composition) that he was a good king. These cases show how the mention of *varṇa* in a *prasasti* need show no more than that Indian conventions were adopted, and the meanings of Sanskrit words in their Indian context presumably understood. There are two other references to *varṇas* in the inscription to which the same considerations apply.⁴⁴

A reference in another inscription of the same period has a more practical application. Here, it is said that Konti, the

42 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 73-142, v. 209.

43 *Loc. cit.*, v. 48.

44 *Loc. cit.*, vv. 140, 124.

wife of the king's servant Kavindrārimathana was assigned to the *varṇa* of servants in the palace (*rājñopaskara-geheṣu sevi varṇe*).⁴⁵ This reminds us of the items in the Indian *sapta-varṇa* lists, and suggests that a *varṇa* was a group of people under royal authority brought together by function.

An inscription of the time of Jayavarman V (late tenth century), from Prasat Komphus, follows the familiar conventions in comparing the king to the Creator as the initiator of the good system of *varṇas* and *āśramas*.⁴⁶ *Āśrama*, literally 'a refuge or hermitage' and the common term for a religious foundation in Cambodian epigraphic usage, can also mean one of India's four ideal stages of life for a Brāhmaṇa (student, householder, hermit and wandering ascetic), and the term *varṇ-āśrama* is frequently employed to mean something like 'all walks of life'. In this stanza, the comparison to the Creator is explicit rather than being embodied in a pun, and there is no necessity to see *varṇ-āśrama* as having two meanings. But it would be possible to see *varṇ-āśrama-sadvyavasthām kṛtvā* as referring to the establishment of the orders of society and stages of life, on the one hand, and to *varṇas* and religious foundations, on the other.

Important for our purpose is another inscription of this reign, the Kompon Thom inscription which records the celebration by Jayavarman of the end of his studies. He ordered his *guru* to choose from among 'the seven *varṇas*' and the families of the chiefs of religious teachers (*ācāryas*) who had followed in succession twenty religious men for each of two *varṇas* to be newly created: the *khmuk vrah kralā arcana* and the *karmāntara*. These new *varṇas* were given authority over land, slaves, rice fields and so forth, and the donation was confirmed by the king with gold and silver plaques.⁴⁷

45 *Ibid.*, Vol. 6, pp. 123-27 (Vat Kdei Car).

46 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 159-86, v. 21.

47 *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 64ff.

A. K. Chakravarti gives particular attention to this inscription. He considers that the functions of the two new *varṇas* were to be the ceremonial ringing of bells and the performance of funerary ceremonies.⁴⁸ Though these inferences from the Khmer terms are partly conjectural, it seems entirely likely that some such ritual procedures were to constitute the formal *raison d'être* of the *varṇas*. He discusses in some detail the translation of the passage, noticed above, which refers to the women of the families of the new *varṇas*,⁴⁹ enjoining that they should be married only to men of high birth (*anak ta uttama*), specifying that only the people under the three principal *sanjaks* of the king could take them, not the holders of the parasol with golden shaft, and disinheriting them when they are married to these. *Sanjaks* are high dignitaries, closely tied to the king by bonds resembling blood-brotherhood.⁵⁰ The passage presents several obscurities and ambiguities, and it cannot be said that its meaning has been finally established ; all we are entitled to infer from the context is that two new *varṇas* were created with probably ritual functions, that they were endowed with land and possessions, that the king claimed authority over the succession within them, and that they were closely linked to high dignitaries. We may also note that the men forming their nuclei were called *mūla*, a term designating the heads of a family or community who in each generation have authority over the collective possessions.

An inscription of the reign of Jayavīravarma (beginning of the eleventh century) from the Prah Koh records that Vinaya, *purohita* of king Rājendravarman, made a foundation at Devīpura, the management of which was to be confined to

48 See *op. cit.*, p. 30, notes 62-63.

49 Face B, ll. 1-9. See *ibid.*, App., pp. 57-59.

50 See E. Aymonier, *Le Cambodge*, Vol. III, p. 537 ; *IC*, Vol. 3, p. 209, note 1.

his own family ; in 1005 A.D. at his request, the king, Jayaviravarman, caused the people of this place to enter the *cāmi-karakāra-varṇa*.⁵¹ G. Coedes interprets this as making them artisans in a corporation of Goldsmiths ; in some sense obviously it shows that a ruler could transfer people into *varṇas* as well as create *varṇas*. The context, however, allows us to doubt whether the category designated should be seen as a guild of practising craftsmen rather than as some sort of ritual order. Generally throughout the inscriptions, 'the people' of this or that establishment means not so much a village of peasants as a community of priests or other dignitaries and their hangers-on, supported by the labour and produce of the territory of which they are, by royal regulation or confirmation, the beneficiaries. Thus, 'the community at Devīpura' (*Devīpurasthā janatā*) should perhaps make us think of the relatives and appointees of Vinaya benefiting from his foundation.

An inscription on a sanctuary door pier at Vat Baset⁵² will serve to introduce the group of eleventh-century inscriptional references dating from the reigns of Sūryavarman I and his immediate successors. A son of a *viṣay-ādhipati* (equivalent to the more commonly encountered Old Khmer *Khlon viṣaya*, district chief) is an artist and is made by the king to be the chief of artists (*śilpīndra*). He contributes to the public works of Udayādityavarman II ; the king gives him land, names him chief of artists at Bhīmapura and see that the granted domain with the family living on it is appointed to the *varṇa* of golden cups (*varṇe hema-karaṅke sakulapuro lekhitō*).⁵³ Here too, it appears to be the enfeoffed royal favourites that are admitted to a *varṇa* ; there is no need to see *pura* as re-

51 *IC*, Vol. 1, pp. 189-94, Prah Koh, v. 16.

52 *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, pp. 3-24, Sanctuary, West pier, South door,

53 *Loc. cit.*, v. 12.

ferring to an ordinary village. As for the name of the *varṇa*, G. Coedes comments that 'his translation ('caste of people responsible for the golden cups') is conjectural, and remarks that it could refer to a caste or corporation of people having a golden cup as their emblem.⁵⁴

In one of the inscriptions from Prasat Srane, there are references to the purchase of land from certain people with the appellation of *Vap* (indicating a free man with no particular granted dignity or title) who are members of the *Mīnapracāṇḍa varṇa*.⁵⁵ *Mīna* means 'fish' and *pracāṇḍa* means 'violent'; but as G. Coedes comments in the context, it is uncertain exactly what the compound means. The inscription refers to other land bought from the *Koṭṭhoma varṇa*, and yet other land bought from the *varṇa* of door-guardians. The first of these suggests a connection with sacrifice, the second suggests a ceremonial title. Such *varṇa* names tend to reinforce the inference that these institutions were communities given ritual dignities and endowed with rights to labour and produce in particular places.

The same inscription also refers to *varṇas* in another way; it is said of an endowment of a foundation that is given royal sanction that the *varṇ-āśrama* living on the endowed territory is to be under the sole authority of the auditor (*stap vartamāna*) and is not to be liable to certain government exactions in the nature of taxes. It is further said that the *varṇ-āśrama* is to assure tribute to be paid to the Liṅgapura god, and that only holy men are to be allowed into the *āśrama* (religious foundation).⁵⁶ The *stap vartamāna* is an individual responsible for the management of the affairs of an endowment. G. Coedes sees *varṇ-āśrama* as meaning the people living on the land at its first

54 *Ibid.*, p. 11, note 1.

55 *Ibid.*, Vol. 4, pp. 45-52, Central tower, K. 933, ll. 23-26.

56 *Loc. cit.*, Central tower stele inscription, ll. 12-13.

occurrence, and suggests tentatively that at its second occurrence it means 'the people designated by their names'. It has been suggested, on the evidence of a reference to people apparently being promoted by being appointed into the *varṇ-āśrama*, that the term referred to free status as opposed to serfdom or slavery;⁵⁷ but in the present context, as regards the Prasat Srane inscriptions, there seems to be no problem involved in seeing *varṇ-āśrama* as a designation of the community of priests or learned men under the authority of Vāgiśvarādhīpativarman and supported by the goods and slaves attached to the endowment.

The reference to apparent promotion into *varṇ-āśrama* requires attention. It occurs in an inscription of Prah Vihar.⁵⁸ Following is the translation of G. Coedes: "As for the member of the family of Vap Mau of Vibheda, people of Kamsten Śrī-Mahīdharavarman of Vrah Sruk, concerning whom V. K. A. Śrī-Rājapativarman appealed respectfully to the king, H. M. deigned to order the land of Rangol to be divided among them and that they should be installed there in exchange for the district of Vibheda, and decreed that these people should henceforth form part of the *varṇ-āśrama*."⁵⁹ The reason for this move is that the king has just been recorded to have bestowed Vibheda, the previous abode of Vap Mau, upon somebody else. This transaction therefore looks like part of the operation of a feudal system in a fairly strict sense. The king, in order to bestow territory on a favourite, exercises his right over land to settle him there after removing the previous occupant who is given in compensation new land as a royal endowment. It seems entirely natural, and is most consistent

57 A. K. Chakravarti, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-18.

58 *IC*, Vol. 6, pp. 254-72, Prah Vihar, Gopura D, South door, West pier.

59 *Loc. cit.*, ll. 29-31.

with the evidence already noticed here, to see *varṇ-āśrama* as designating the status of a community living on land specially endowed and supplied with the services of slaves and the provision of produce. This privilege was perhaps one which Vap Mau had earned by virtue of being the client of the dignitary Kamsten Śrī-Mahidharavarman (the text merely specifies the family of Vap Mau as his people, without specifying a relation of tenancy or servitude).

There are other references to *varṇa*, detached from its association with *āśrama* just considered, dating from the reign of Sūryavarman I, and using the term in an apparently specific sense. A. K. Chakravarti mentions, for example, the Ta Keo inscription, according to which an individual is named chief of the *varṇas* after the division of *varṇas* of the kingdom (*rājya-varṇa-bhāge*) was made by king Sūryavarman.⁶⁰ This certainly shows that, in the eleventh century, a king could claim authority over the *varṇas*. This is what we should expect from the evidence so far considered, and it is natural that there should be a high royal official responsible for the various endowments that had been made in the king's name, and were therefore to be kept exempt from various forms of corvée and tax.

A stele inscription from Prasat Ben refers to an ancestor in the time of Jayavarman VII who was involved in the consecration of the *sapta-varṇa*, which were to be divided among the responsibilities of the corps of pages (*kanmyan pamre*, a corporation of royal servants familiar from the inscriptions). The ancestor concerned became a page in the section designated as that of the fan-bearers.⁶¹ It is not at all clear what 'the seven *varṇas*' here mentioned are or exactly in what relation they stand to the corps of pages ; but we are obviously

⁶⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 49f.

⁶¹ *IC*, Vol. 7, pp. 164-89, face B, ll. 7-9.

confronted once again with an institution embodying dignities bestowed by the king.

Another inscription traces the history of a family given various honours. V. K. A. Rājendrapaṇḍita makes a foundation, and his *varṇa* in the matrilineal succession is assigned to guard it.⁶² This is a reference to the common practice of making over land and slaves to support a religious foundation, but keeping authority over the land in the family of the donor, which in various ways might hold it in trust for the community of holy men thus supported. Under Jayavarman IV, Rājendrapaṇḍita is in the corps of pages (noticed above); under Sūryavarman I, he is given a royal order to serve in the Maṅgalārtha corps.⁶³ This is a caste or corporation with teaching functions, the title being attached to various royal servants known from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁶⁴ The 'various Rājendrapaṇḍitas'—presumably the successors of the named dignitary in his family—in the *maṅgalārtha-varga* are made responsible for keeping up the foundation.⁶⁵ This passage indicates that a *varṇa* could be hereditary, that it could be functional in that it might be a corporation of teachers, and that the term *varga*, which we noticed before, was used with probably the same sort of sense in the eleventh century.

Some *varṇas* named in later reigns introduce us to some new names for these organizations. There is mention of an eighteen-year old individual entering the service of Udayādityavarman in the *varṇa* of sacred bulls.⁶⁶ An eleventh century inscription from Vat Baset mentions a *Vasanta-varṇa*, which G. Coedes interprets as the corporation of the sacred vestments

62 *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, pp. 109-15, L 11.

63 *Ibid.*, II. 13-17.

64 *Ibid.*, p. 113. note 2.

65 *Ibid.*, II. 20-22.

66 *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, pp. 180-92.

and a *varṇa* of sacred gardens.⁶⁷ Another inscription of perhaps earlier date, but not before the tenth century, refers to the products of land under the authority of the families of chiefs of the *varṇa vrah cāmara*—the sacred fly-whisk.⁶⁸ A mention of the *karmāntara* corporation, noticed above, occurs in the Kuk Trapan Sruk inscription which records the various functions and dignities accorded to members of the family of Divākarapandita.⁶⁹

From as late as the reign of Jayavarman VII, there is a *prastasti* reference to the king reforming the usages of the *varṇas* (*saṃskṛta-varṇa-rīti*);⁷⁰ but this is an obvious further example of the employment of Sanskrit poetic traditions employing *doubles entendres* (*rīti* can mean style or diction, and the context is a combined reference to the king's literary powers and authority over *varṇas*). The same applies to a reference to the king, compared to the grammarian Pāṇini, restoring the *varṇas* of the population (*prakṛteḥ...varṇa*, which can also mean 'the letters of the composition').⁷¹

These are not the only mentions of *varṇas* in the Cambodian inscriptions; but they represent adequately the character of these references and include all those which present problems of interpretation. The following points about *varṇas* summarise what the evidence shows: (1) they were fairly small communities, not general divisions of the population among which Brāhmanas, for example, could be listed as one; (2) they had largely ceremonial functions at court, teaching or serving the king in various ways; (3) they were settled on

67 *Ibid.*, Vol. 6, pp. 287-92.

68 *Ibid.*, Vol. 4, pp. 106f., ll. 11-14.

69 *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 129ff.

70 Prah Khan inscription, v. 21. See A. K. Chakravarti, *op. cit.*, p. 50, note 137.

71 *IC*, Vol. 4, pp. 207-53, Prasat Crun, S. E. Corner angle, B, st. D.

grants of land with rights to labour and produce in the same way as purely religious foundations ; (4) they could be communities of holy men ; (5) whole families were associated with them ; (6) membership of them was commonly hereditary.

This is a coherent set of facts, and it enables us to see *varṇas* as communities of people favoured with grants of land rights and honoured with various dignities by kings. The fact that in different generations the members of a single family might pursue a wide variety of different occupations, or at least be given a wide variety of different more or less honorary titles at court, might mean something here if *varṇas* were functionally specialized hereditary classes of the population as in India, but has little effect on our definition of the *varṇas* as they appear to have been in Cambodia. Further, the fact that kings could create them and dispose of their membership does not mean that the sort of social engineering went on or that these activities would imply if they were orders of society. They should be seen rather as a part of the pattern of feudalism and of client-patron relations which the study of ancient Cambodian history makes familiar.

It is necessary to say something further about this pattern, however briefly the subject must be treated. The problem of understanding the system of rights over land has been left on one side here ; but we cannot avoid noticing that 'feudalism' seems quite an apt term to characterize many aspects of the social relationships that Cambodian land transactions reflect. M. Ricklefs has underlined the fact that kings were not in any useful sense owners of all the land of the country, so that some of the features of oriental despotism perhaps too often read into ancient Khmer institutions are clearly not to be sought in historical reality ; on the other hand, a perusal of the inscriptions as the affairs of a large class of peasant culti-

suggests that it would also be wrong to see land ownership and land transactions as the affairs of a large class of cultivators. The inscriptions record the doings of an elite, one of whose concerns is to gain religious merit and exemption from corvée and taxes levied on their land by making it over to temples, which sometimes manage the donated land and sometimes enjoy the produce and labour from it while it is kept by the donor's family. The king sometimes confers the privilege of designating an endowment as a royal foundation, which qualifies it for exemption from the *purlieu* of various royal servants. In all these dealings, what is subject to buying, donating, exempting and so forth appears to be not so much the soil itself, ownership of which in the modern sense is a notion not likely to have existed in the Khmer mind, but the rights over the produce of it and the workers on it given by an individual's function (as priest, donor, king or whatever) in relation to it. Thus the *varṇas* and the personnel of the many temples have a baronial role in the countryside, enjoying their territory as fiefs from the king.

The community established at any settlement consisted not simply of a family, but of an organization of holy men and their associates or a corporation of royal favourites or their descendants. Such a community is better understood if we consider power in Cambodian society to have been distributed through a network of patron-client relationships; the monarch was not omnipotent because he had to take account of the influence, through this network, of great families; but he could be powerful to the extent that he could employ his considerable resources of patronage to gather a large clientele around himself. The *varṇas*, though they might in the course of reigns and generations become alienated from the dynasties of their original benefactors, should be seen as parts of this clientele. Possible vestiges of such a system of factions and feudalism were seen in the nineteenth century in the formal, but largely

a new caste, promoting caste rank, and in various other ways claiming a jurisdiction over caste matters to which the British rulers found themselves heirs.⁷⁸

Thus, the power of an Indian ruler over social relationships need not have been always so weak, nor the power of a Cambodian ruler so strong, as has sometimes been thought. The Khmer monarch, in creating or controlling *varṇas*, was not engaging in social engineering ; he was dispensing privileges and maintaining his party with bonds of obligation. A *varṇa* was a significant group of people as seen from the king's point of view, just as it may have been in practice in India sometimes in spite of the great differences between the two situations.

The foregoing survey has suggested that these differences are not to be adequately explained by reference to a divorce between religion and politics in India, certainly there in theory, which was not paralleled in Cambodia, for the Cambodian ruler should not be regarded as an oriental despot. This last point, it is true, is given only negative support by the conclusion here that to manipulate *varṇas* was not to manipulate society, and it needs to be reinforced by a broader study of Cambodian politics in ancient times.⁷⁹ In particular, it has been argued before that the *Devarāja* cult known in Angkor should not be thought of as a reflection of king-worship by a slave population.⁸⁰ It is, rather, a reflection of Khmer ideas about Indian religious culture giving legitimacy to an indigenous regime.

The question remains : to what extent, and by what means, Indian society had any influence on Cambodian society. The

78 J. H. Hutton, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-97.

79 I. W. Mabbett, *Focus and Thought-world in the Ancient History of South-East Asia* (in the press).

80 *Journ. S.-E. As. Hist.*, Vol. X, No. 2 (1969), pp. 202-23.

evidence is that Cambodians were familiar with Sanskrit lore and used its traditions freely, with local twists, as is readily exemplified by the use of the term *varṇa* in poetic punning. The recurrence of the inscriptional claim to have an empire extending to the Indus⁸¹ is a similar ritual adoption of Indian conventions with the same sort of value as historical evidence. Not only the word *varṇa* alone or in compounds, but the terms *Brāhmaṇa* and *Kṣatriya* (the latter usually replaced by *Kṣatra*) were frequently used. But the influence of the caste system seems to stop short at the exportation of some of its terminology. Though it is doubtless true that Brāhmaṇas, occasionally themselves Indians, had a position in Khmer society as priests, advisers and teachers at court very similar to that of at least their learned, *śrotriya*, counterparts in India, and though Cambodian Kṣatriya nobility behaved much as Indian nobility, these classes were not *varṇas* in the Indian sense any more than in the Cambodian sense. There was very frequent intermarriage between them,* as previous modern writers have demonstrated, and it is best to see them as parts of an undifferentiated elite in which all families tried in every generation to obtain official titles and privileges or the placement of members versed in holy lore in temples rich in endowments, or both.

F. D. K. Bosch has presented the argument that, if the Indian influences in Indonesia had been exercised by colonization, we would expect to find in the 'Indianized' lands the transplantation of the Indian caste system which the presumed immigrants would have wished to keep up in their new surroundings.⁸² This argument may be applied by analogy to

81 BEFEO, Vol. XI (1911), pp. 391-406 (cf. p. 402, v. 4) ; IC, Vol. 3, pp. 105-08, v. 11 ; pp. 180-92, v. 3. [We should probably read 'sea' for 'Indus'.—Ed.]

* [There was little consideration of caste in the marriage relations of ruling families in India.—Ed.]

82 *Selected Studies in Indonesian Archaeology* (The Hague, 1961), pp. 1-22.

the mainland of South-East Asia also, and it has been used by proponents of the theory that the sources of Indian influence should be sought in initiatives by the indigenes, who imported Brāhmanas and surrounded themselves with Indian culture, rather than in any military or even commercial advances by the Indians. The theory is debatable; but it is true that the absence of Indian forms of social organization in practice suggests that it was Indian ideas, perhaps imperfectly apprehended and awkwardly applied to the local situation, rather than dominating Indian communities to which we should look for an explanation of such features of the caste system as were recognized in some sense. Indian influence was not spread, as in India, by the advance of an immigrant race with their culture, an advance furthered by the acceptance of the standards of the dominant communities in every locality. A closer analogy is to be sought in fringe zones where the bearers of Hindu culture found themselves not as advancing conquerors but as exiled minorities far from the metropolitan centres of their culture, and it is noteworthy that in Nepal, where in certain periods something like this situation obtained, it is the marriage restrictions prescribed by caste rules in the system's purity that seem to have been the first to weaken: the minority Hindus recognized fellow-castemen with a very substantial admixture of alien blood.⁸³

But it is possible to recognize in South-East Asia a further dilution of the full rigour of Indianization as it took place in India without supposing that Indians had no part in it. What a general study of the problem of the 'Indianization' of South-East Asia suggests is that something like M. N. Srinivas' 'Sanskritization' occurred as a result of indigenous contact, not

83 C. von Fürer-Haimendorf, 'Caste in the Multi-Ethnic Society of Nepal,' *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, Vol. IV (1960), pp. 12-32.

THREE EAST INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS OF THE EARLY MEDIAEVAL PERIOD

D. C. SIRCAR

1. *Siyān Stone Slab Inscription of the time of Nayapāla*

A few months back, Sri Siddheswar Mukhopadhyay, Assistant Teacher of the Ālbāndhā High School (P, O. Alban-dha, *via* Bolpur, Dist. Birbhum, West Bengal) wrote to me about the existence of two stone slabs each bearing 35 lines of writing. Sri Mukhopadhyay discovered the inscribed slabs in the dilapidated Dargah associated with the name of Makhdum Shāh Jalāl at Shāhjāpur in the village of Siyān near Bolpur. The village lies on the Bolpur-Nānnūr Road, about 4 miles from Bolpur and nearly 7 miles from Nānnūr and is not far from the mound locally known as Kālidāser Dhipi (Kālidāsa's mound or homestead) towards Nānnūr. Sri Mukhopadhyay also informed me that there is some writing in Arabic characters on the back of the slabs. He further pointed out that one of the two inscriptions is considerably rubbed off and was also good enough to send me the photograph of the other record which is better preserved. Sri Mukhopadhyay realised that the inscribed slabs originally belonged to some Śaiva or Buddhist establishment and that they were utilised in building the Dargah at a later date. This practice is well known from numerous instances in various parts of India, one of the celebrated cases nearer home is the Dargah of Zafar Shāh at Tribeni.

The photograph received by me from Sri Mukhopadhyay was not satisfactory enough to decipher the inscription ; but it showed that the inscription, written in the Gauḍī characters of about the eleventh century A. D., is damaged and fragmen-

tary. Of the few passages that could be deciphered from it here and there, one that attracted my particular attention reads—*Cedi-nṛpateḥ Karṇasya hatvā bhaṭān*, 'having killed the soldiers of the Cedi king Karṇa'. The story of the struggle of the Pāla kings Nayapāla (c. 1035-50 A. D.) and his son Vigrahapāla III (c. 1050-76 A. D.) with the Cedi monarch Karṇa (1041-71 A. D.) of Tripurī near Jabalpur, the marriage of Karṇa's daughter Yauvanaśrī with Vigrahapāla III and Karṇa's advance into the Birbhum District where we have his inscription on a pillar at Paikore are well known to the students of history. This made me conscious about the importance of the inscription, because here was a *prasthiti* mentioning certain achievements of a Pāla king of the eleventh century while there are only a few *prasthitis* on stone slabs belonging to the monarchs of ancient Bengal, and the find-spots of those few also fall outside West Bengal. I therefore requested the Eastern Circle of the Archæological Survey in Calcutta to be good enough to contact Sri Mukhopadhyay, to take inked impressions of both the inscriptions and to send them to me for study and publication. As a result, I received only one copy of impression of the better preserved inscription in the Dargah at Siyān. This was also, like the photograph, not quite satisfactory and not enough to read the whole of the fragmentary record. I therefore requested the Epigraphical Branches of the Archæological Survey at Mysore (Sanskritic and Dravidic Branch) and Nagpur (Arabic and Persian Branch) to help me with better impressions of this inscription together with some estampages of the other record at the place. Considering, however, the importance of the inscription I was inclined to say something about its contents on the basis of the estampage I received from the Eastern Circle of the Archæological Survey, even before the receipt of better impressions.

An important feature of the inscription, written in Sanskrit

verse, is its fragmentary nature. Most of the stanzas are incomplete ; only a few in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre are complete, e.g., two in lines 28 and 29. The second half of a verse in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* in the latter part of the last line contains only 23 syllables out of the 38, so that at least 15 syllables are lost at the end of the said line. Moreover, between two double-*daṇḍas* indicating the end of verses in two consecutive lines, there are often only a few syllables seen in the record. Thus a stanza in *Anuṣṭubh* ends with the word *tvīṣā* // at the end of line 28 while another verse has only the concluding word *saṅgame* // at the beginning of the following line, i.e. line 29. Thus even if the metre of the damaged stanza was *Anuṣṭubh* of only 32 syllables, the number of missing syllables at the end of line 28 is no less than 29. Likewise, *haimaṇ* = *ca pīṭhakaṁ* // *Caṇḍāṁsu* at the end of line 29 and [*raktayā*] *haimaṇ nava-grāh-āmbhojaṁ* // at the beginning of line 30 would show that both the partially preserved stanzas are in *Anuṣṭubh* and that the number of missing syllables at the end of line 29 is at least 18. Then again line 31 ends with the word *bheje* // which is the concluding syllables of a stanza in *Vasantatilakā* ; but the word *nirmame* at the beginning of the next line (line 32) is similarly the concluding word of the first half of a stanza in *Anuṣṭubh*, so that at least 13 syllables are lost at the end of the previous line. The lines in the extant part of the record contain each a little over 40 syllables so that the above indications would suggest that the original number of syllables in the said lines were near about 69, 58 and 53 respectively. That is, however, obviously impossible since the lines are expected to have contained more or less the same number of syllables. It is therefore clear that many more syllables are lost at the end of the lines of the inscription in question.

When I was struggling with the solution of this problem,

my pupil, Dr. D. R. Das, submitted to me one impression each of both the inscribed slabs in the Dargah at Siyān. These estampages were also not satisfactory ; but they showed that the writing on the second slab of stone is much rubbed off in a wide area of the central section. What, however, is striking is that the two slabs are almost of the same size, the lines of writing are of practically the same length on both of them, the *akṣaras* are of the same size in both and the number of lines in the two inscriptions is the same, *i.e.* 35 in each. It therefore appeared to me possible that the two slabs originally belonged to one slab of stone, the first forming the left and the second the right half, and that the original slab bearing 35 lines of writing each containing more than 80 syllables was cut in the middle in order to make out two slabs. This was no doubt done by those who inscribed the Muslim inscriptions on the back of the slabs and utilised them in the construction of the Dargah. Some syllables (probably about 7 covering nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches) must have been lost in the process of cutting the original slab into two halves, so that the number of syllables in a line of the original inscription may be conjectured to be about 90 although the size of *akṣaras* is not exactly the same in all parts of the epigraphs. This problem can of course be finally settled on a thorough examination of the writings from satisfactory estampages of both the records.

We have to account for about 50 missing syllables at the end of line 28 and not merely 29 as we supposed on the possibility that the metre of the damaged stanza may have been *Anuṣṭubh*. Thus the metre of the said stanza probably had about 13 or 14 syllables in each foot. At the end of line 29, instead of 18 syllables we have to account for about another 32 syllables. The missing part of the line therefore had another stanza in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre. Similarly, at the end of line 31, we have to account for an additional 37 syllables. This seems also to be due to the loss of another *Anuṣṭubh* stanza.

The facts indicated above including the rubbed off nature of the writing on the second slab would suggest that the full implication and contents of the inscription will never be known and that the decipherment and interpretation of the exact text of the fragments will require considerable erudition, skill, patience, perseverance and time even of a first class epigraphist. Unfortunately that is a dying class now. In any case, it should be noted that, if intact, this inscription would have been the biggest *praśasti* ever discovered in our country since even the Deopādā *praśasti*¹ of Vijayasena (c. 1097-1159 A. D.) contains 32 lines of writing, each line having a little above 80 syllables.

One may be interested to know whether there is any other case of similar utilisation of an inscribed stone slab in the same way at a later date. The answer to such a question must be in the affirmative, because I myself had the experience of deciphering an epigraph of this type. It is the fragmentary Dholkā (Ahmedābād District, Gujarāt) inscription published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 89ff. In this case, a stone-slab bearing a Jain inscription was cut into two parts at a later date for utilising the left half for constructing a Viṣṇu image on the uninscribed back side of it in 1209 A. D. The other half of the record could not be traced. The utilisation of a Jain slab by the Hindus points to the genuineness of the tradition regarding the anti-Jain policy followed by the successors of Caulukya Kumārapāla (c. 1144-73 A.D.).

The Siyān inscription begins with an adoration to the god Vāsudeva probably because the poet who composed the eulogy was a Vaiṣṇava. Then come references to Samataṭa (*i.e.* the present Tippera-Noakhali region) and to Dharmapāla (c. 770-810 A.D.) who was the second ruler and the greatest monarch of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihar. There is, however, no indication in the extant part of the verse about the Pālas'

1 N. G. Majumdar, *Ins. Beng.*, Vol. III, pp. 42ff.

relations with the Samatāṭa country. Next we have the mention of Nayapāla who is described as the repository of good policy and as a scion of Dharmapāla's family and the descriptions of the pious activities of one of whose subjects or subordinates is the theme of the record. Then the inscription refers to the slaughter of the forces of the Cedi king Karna apparently by the Pāla monarch, to which reference has been already made above. After this, there is mention of a king of Suhma-deśa, *i. e.* the country of Rāḍha in the valley of the Ajay river, who must have been a feudatory of the Pāla king and the findspot of the inscription must have been included in his territory. The real purpose of the *prastiti* comes next and it is to record a person's pious activities including the construction of temples for Śiva and other Brāhmaṇical gods and goddesses. It has to be noted that the inscription is not an official record of the Pāla king, who was a Buddhist, but a subordinate's document. The defeat of the Cedi king's forces apparently in the Birbhum region thus seems to have been well known to the local population. King Karna's advance upto the Paikore region of the Birbhum District is known from his inscription, and he may have then been in occupation of some areas of Bihar. Probably his advance was checked by the Pāla king in the Suhma country, if not particularly in Birbhum. As a feudatory of the Pāla monarch, the Suhma king seems to have participated in the struggle against Karna. However, it is difficult to say whether it was the king of the Suhma country, whose pious activities are recorded in the inscription.

Among the said activities, mention is first made of an *āyatana* (temple) of the god Purāri (Śiva) and the installation of the eleven Rudras, which must have been an extremely interesting feature of the temple in question. There is another reference to the *prāsāda* (temple) of the god Śaṃbhu (Śiva)

called Hetukeśa in the fortress of some ruler. It is difficult to say whether the god was called Hetukeśa because the Śivaliṅga in question was installed by a person named Hetuka ; but the name reminds us of the renovation of a dilapidated temple of the god Hetuka-śūlin (Śiva) by king Vanamāla of the Mleccha or Śālastambha dynasty of Assam about the middle of the ninth century A.D.² Next we come across the mention of a *dhāman* (temple) of the god Śambhu called Dharākṣeśvara. Then there are references to Candīśa (Śiva) and Bhairava, to the god Vaṭeśvara and to the city of Campā which is located in the suburbs of modern Bhāgalpur in Bihār. Vaṭeśvara is mentioned as Valeśvara (i.e. Vaḍeśvara) in an inscription of the early Pāla age found at Vaṭeśvarasthāna near the Colgong (Kahalgāon) railway station in the Bhāgalpur District.³ It appears that the person responsible for the religious establishments at or near Siyān also extended his pious activities to various *tīrthas*, since after the mention of Vaṭeśvara and Campā, the inscription speaks of some activities at Somatīrtha and Dharmāranya, the names being applied to several *tīrthas*. The famous Somatīrtha is Prabhāsa where the Somanātha temple was situated in the present Junāgarh District, Gujarāt, while one of the several Dharmāranyas lies near Bodhgayā in the Gayā District of Bihār.⁴ Next the inscription speaks of the gods Mataṅgeśvara and Vaidyanātha, though it is difficult to say whether the latter is the deity of the same name worshipped at Deoghar in the Santal Parganas District of Bihār. Mention is then made of a golden *kalāṣa* being fixed to a temple and not only of the construction of a silver image of Sadāśiva (an aspect of the

2. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 150. The name Hetuka-śūlin has often been wrongly corrected to Hāṭapa-śūlin in this record.

3. See *JBRs*, Vol. XXXVII, Parts 3-4, 1951, pp. 4-6, where I read the name as *Veḍḍe(ṭe)śvara*.

4. See Dey, *Geog. Dict.*, pp. 56-67, 188.

god Śiva) and the gold images of Caṇḍikā and Vighnanāyaka (Vināyaka or Ganeśa), but also of a gold *pīṭhaka* (seat of a deity). Then there is mention of Candāṁśu (the Sun-god) and to a golden lotus meant for the nine Grahas as well as to a *chāyā* (image) of the god Śambhu (Śiva). This is interesting because the god Śiva was usually worshipped in the form of a *linga*. Next the inscription speaks of a gift made in favour of the Brāhmaṇas and of the construction of a *maṭha* (monastery) for the accommodation of ascetics. In this context, the construction of *iṣṭāpūrta* is also referred to. Of course, *iṣṭāpūrta* means performance of pious or charitable deeds and of sacrifices as well as the digging of wells and doing other acts of charity;⁵ but the verb *nirmame* (i.e. constructed) suggests that merely the performance of charitable deeds and sacrifices was probably not intended. In a fragmentary stanza that follows, we have a passage saying, "Indeed, he is the *Cakravartin* here;" but its real import is uncertain. In the same context, it is said that an image of the god Vaikuṇṭha (i.e. the Vaikuṇṭha Caturmūrti form of Viṣṇu)⁶ was installed in the *maṭha* men-

5. Cf. *vapī-kūpa taḍāg-ādi-devat-āyatanāni ca |*
anna-pradānam=ārāmāḥ pūrtam=arthiyāḥ pracakṣate | |
ekāgni-karma-havanam Tretāyām yac=ca hūyate |
Antarvedyām ca yad=dānam=iṣṭam tad=abhidhiyate ||
 (Mahāvīracarita, ed. Barooah, III, 1, referred to by Apte, SED, s. v.); also
agnihotraṁ tapaḥ satyaṁ vedānāṁ=c=ānupālanaṁ |
ātithyaṁ vaśvadevaś=ca iṣṭam=ity=abhidhiyate | |
vāpī-kūpa-taḍāg-ādi-devat-āyatanāni ca |
anna-pradānam=ārāmāḥ pūrtam=ity=abhidhiyate | |
 (Jātūkarna quoted in the *Mahāśatattva* and cited in the *S'abdakalpadruma*, s. v.).

6. Cf. *Vaikuṇṭham ca pravakṣyāmi so='ṣṭa-bāhur=mahābalaḥ |*
Tārṅgy-āsanaś=catur-vaktraḥ kartavyaḥ śāntim=icchatā ||
gadāṁ khaḍgaṁ śaraṁ-cakraṁ dakṣiṇe='sya catuṣṭayam |
śaṅkhaṁ kheṭaṁ dhanuḥ padmaṁ vāme dadyāc=catuṣṭayam ||
agrataḥ puruṣ-ākāraṁ Nārasiṁhaṁ ca dakṣiṇe |
aparaṁ śrī-mukh-ākāraṁ Vārāh-āsyāṁ tath=ottaram ||

tioned earlier. It will be seen that, although most of the religious establishments were Śaiva in character, there were also a few Vaiṣṇava, Śākta, Gāṇapatya and Saura ones.

The concluding part of the inscription mentions an *ara-ghaṭṭa* which term is often used in mediaeval inscriptions in the sense of a machine for drawing water from wells usually consisting of a wheel with spokes on each side serving as handles for turning it with a rope having a bucket fastened to it and passing over the wheel. It is usually called 'Persian wheel'. The word is recognised in the early lexicon *Amarakoṣa* (III. 5.18), but is explained by Kṣīrasvāmin as *mahākūpa*, 'a great well'. It is difficult to say in which sense the present inscription has used the word.

There is reference at the end to a person named Masāṇa-deva (Sanskrit *Śmaśānadeva*) and to his wife.

2, *Bodhgayā Stone Slab Inscription of Buddhasena in the Berlin Museum*

In 1971, I met Dr. G. Bhattacharya, who had been one of my Assistants when I was Government Epigraphist for India and was at this time a Research Fellow at the Indian Art Section of the Berlin Museum, and learnt from him that there is a stone inscription (No. I. 1141) in the Berlin Museum written in characters which Bühler called Proto-Bengali and I call Gaudī. I then requested Prof. M. Haertel, Director of the Museum für Indische Kunst, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, West Berlin, to send me a few inked impressions of the said inscription. After sometime, Prof. Haertel sent me first a photograph of the epigraph and then a silicose cast of it. I am grateful to him for his kindness.

The inscription was discovered about a century ago at Bodhgayā in the Gayā District of Bihār and is well known to

(Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part II, App., p. 59).

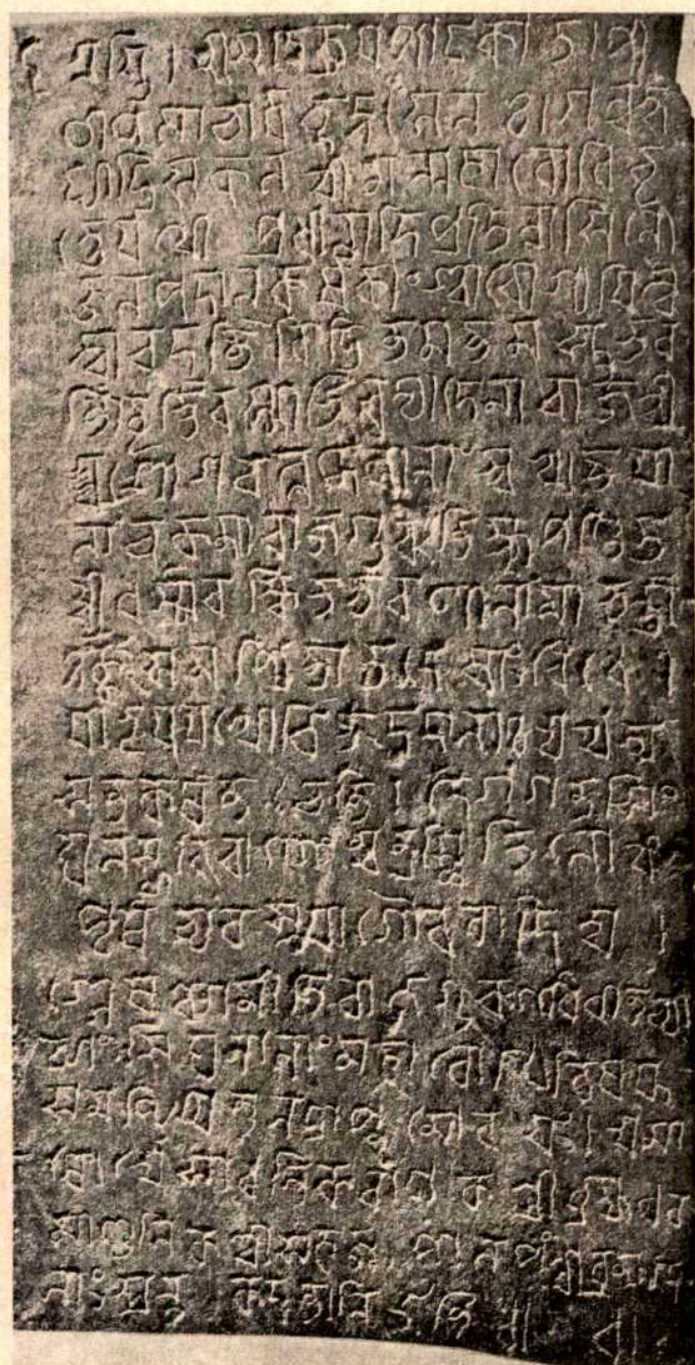
the students of Indian epigraphy from its illustration appearing in Cunningham's *Mahābodhi* published from London in 1892. The writing on the stone belonging to about the 13th century A. D. is fairly well preserved ; but it is difficult to read and interpret the record owing to inefficient drafting and careless formation of the letters. The only attempts to decipher the inscription were made by B. B. Vidyavinode in the *Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, B. S. 1317, p. 217, and more successfully by N. G. Majumdar in a paper appearing in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLVIII, 1919, p. 45 ; but Majumdar tried to read only upto the beginning of line 11 of the record having no less than 21 lines of writing. Moreover, his partial transcript also contains a few serious errors. Thus he failed to read *śrīmad-Vikramapāṭakāt* in line 1 and wrongly read *Buddhasena-deva Buddhasaṅgh-ādī*⁷ in place of what actually reads *Vu(Bu)-ddhasenaḥ | gandhakuṭy-ādī*⁸.

The inscription begins with the symbol for *siddham* also read as *Om siddhiḥ* or *siddhir—astu* and the auspicious word *svasti*. Then it is stated that the grant was issued from the illustrious Vikramapāṭaka by *Piṭhipati Ācārya Buddhasena* (lines 1-2). This ruler is well known from the Jānibighā (near Bodhgayā) inscription⁷ of his son (or disciple) *Piṭhipati Ācārya Jayasena*, dated in the Lakṣmanasena-saṁvat 83, and the *Life* of the Tibetan monk Dharmasvāmin who visited Bihār and met him in 1234-35 A.D.⁸ There is some controversy about the initial year of the Lakṣmanasena-saṁvat ; but in our opinion, the era was counted originally from the accession of Lakṣmanasena about 1179 A. D., so that year 83=1262 A. D. fell within the reign-period of Buddhasena's successor Jayasena.⁹ The word *pīṭhi* is the same as *pīṭha* or *pīṭhikā* meaning

7 See Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions, No. 1459.

8 Sircar, *Ind. Ep.*, p. 277 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 81.

9 Sircar, *Ind. Ep.*, pp. 274ff.



'a seat' and refers here to the *Vajrāsana* at Bodhgayā, i.e. the stone seat on which the Buddha sat and meditated and obtained *bodhi* or the supreme knowledge. These *Piṭhipatis* appear to have been originally *Ācāryas* or spiritual guides of the *Piṭhipatis* of the Chikkora family of the Sindhu (Sinda) clan of Kannaḍa origin and may have inherited the title from the latter. The Chikkora-Sinda kings, Vallabharāja, 'the lord of Piṭhikā', and his son *Piṭhipati* Devarakṣita (c. 1090-1115 A.D.), are both known from the Sārnāth inscription¹⁰ of Kumara-devī, queen of the Gāhaḍavāla king Govindacandra (1114-55 A.D.), while Devarakṣita is also described in the commentary of Sandhyākaranandin's *Rāmacarita* (II. 8) as the *Piṭhipati* defeated by Maṭhana the maternal uncle and subordinate of the Pāla king Rāmapāla (c. 1077-1130 A.D.). What is very interesting is that, elsewhere the commentary (II.5) mentions another *Piṭhipati* named Bhīmayaśas, probably the successor of Devarakṣita, as a feudatory of Rāmapāla and explains the title meaning 'lord of Piṭhī' as 'lord of Magadha (i.e. the Pāṇā-Gayā region)'. That the *Ācārya* successors of the Chikkora-Sinda *Piṭhipatis* ruled over the said region together with the western fringe of the Monghyr District as subordinates of the Pālas is suggested by an inscription¹¹ of c. 1157 A.D. belonging to *Piṭhipati* *Ācārya* Devasena, a predecessor of Buddhasena and Jayasena and a vassal of the Pāla king Madanapāla (1143-61 A.D.), from Arma near the Kajra railway station in Western Monghyr. Buddhasena and Jayasena, however, ruled after the establishment of the supremacy of Turkish Musalmans in Bihār apparently over a small territory in the Bodhgayā region. That, however, Buddhasena claimed to be

10 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 323ff. The inscription assigns Devarakṣita to the Chikkora family; but the *Rāmacarita* commentary (see below) calls him *Sindhurāja*, i.e. the Sinda king.

11 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 42ff.

'the lord of Magadha' even after the Muslim conquest of Bihār is suggested by Dharmasvāmin's *Life*.¹²

The *Piṭhipatis* appear to have ruled from Bodhgayā ; but Vikramapāṭaka, from where Buddhasena issued the grant under study, is not known. Probably it was the name of that area in Bodhgayā, where the palace of Buddhasena was situated.

The king's order is next addressed to the inhabitants of the rural areas including their leaders as well as to the cultivators, who were all attached to the *ṛtti* or rent-free property of the entire foundation called Mahābodhi comprising various establishments like the *gandhakutī* etc. The word *gandhakuṭi* (literally, 'the perfumed chamber') was originally the room occupied by the Buddha at Śrāvastī, but later indicated the Buddha's private chamber in any Buddhist establishment. In medieval times, the name was applied to the shrine in which the Buddha was worshipped in the Buddhist monastic establishments. The declaration states that the *ṛtti* was granted on 'today's date' by *Piṭhipati Ācārya* Buddhasena permanently in favour of *Bhikṣu Paṇḍita* Dharmarakṣita who was the chief among king Aśokavalla's ... (probably, teachers) and the *Rāja-guru* (royal preceptor) of the Kamā (correctly, Kāma) country. King Aśokavalla (sometimes called Aśokacalla probably wrongly) of the Khasa country in the Śāpādalakṣa mountain is mentioned in three Bodhgayā inscriptions, viz., one of the Buddhanirvāṇa year 1813 (probably 1270 A.D.), the second of the Lakṣmanasena-saṃvat 51 (probably 1230 A. D.), and the third dated in the Lakṣmanasena-saṃvat 74 (probably 1253 A. D). The first of these three inscriptions also mentions Puruṣottamasimha, ruler of the Kāma country, as a feudatory of Aśokavalla. These pious Buddhists were apparently leading their retired lives at the Buddhist holy place of Bodhgayā after abdicating or losing their thrones. This Puruṣottamasimha

12 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 83,

seems to be vaguely alluded to in the present inscription as a disciple of the monk Dharmarakṣita. The Kāma country to which Puruṣottama originally belonged may be identified with Kumaun since his overlord Aśokavalla, mentioned as ruler of the Khasa country in the Sapādalakṣa mountain in the Bodhgayā inscriptions, apparently ruled over the Kumaun-Garhwal region as is indicated by an inscription from Gopeśvar in Garhwal.¹³

The addressees are advised (lines 11-13) to become submissive to the donee and to pay him the proper dues as well as to live happily in the estate and cultivate their plots of land. It is further said (lines 13-16) that the *Rājaguru* (i.e. the donee Dharmarakṣita) has to arrange for the rehabilitation of those Ceylonese monks who were just then in Ceylon and those monks of the said country who were still in the place (i.e. Bodhgayā), in accordance with an arrangement that had been previously made.

The following sentence (lines 17-18) seems to mean that the *Mahābodhi-viśaya*, i.e. property at Mahābodhi, belonging to the Ceylonese should be handed over to them by the donee, while the next sentence (line 18) states "we shall not get it," meaning that the Mahābodhi property belonging to the Ceylonese should not revert to the State. It is not clear whether these Ceylonese were also monks; but they probably were.

The concluding sentence in lines 18-21 says that the grant was given (i.e. handed over to the donee) in the presence of *Sāadhanika Rāṇaka* Brahmadhara, *Māṇḍalika* Sahajapāla, *Paṇḍita* Brahman and others. Among the titles of these witnesses,

13. For the Gopeśvar inscription, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 345; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, App., p. 79, note 5. My doubt about the existence of the record resulted from the confusion created by its non-mention in Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions of Northern India, and therefore my attempt to locate the territories of Aśokavalla and Puruṣottamasakṣita in Rajasthan (*Some Problems of Kuṣāṇa and Rājapūt History*, pp. 79-88) must be regarded as unwarranted.

Rāṇakā and *Māṇḍalikā* were generally enjoyed by feudatory rulers while *Sāḍhanika* (modern *Sāhni*) originally meant 'a leader of forces'.

TEXT¹⁴

- 1 [Symbol.]¹⁶ sa(sva)sti / śrīmad-Vikramapāṭakāt / Pi-
- 2 ṭhīpaty-ācārya-Vu(Bu)udhasenah /¹⁶ gandhaku-
- 3 ṭy-ādi-sakala-śrīman-Mahāvo(bo)dhi-vr-
- 4 tter=yathā-pradhān-ādi-prativāsino
- 5 janapadān karṣakāmś=c=ārogya(m*) pitu-
- 6 tvā¹⁷ vadati (/*) vidita-matam=astu bhava-
- 7 tām¹⁸ vṛtti(tti)r=asmābhir=adya / dinā¹⁹ rāja-śrī-²⁰
- 8 Aśoga(ka)valladevānām mukhyatamā-
- 9 nām ca²¹ Kamā-²² rāja-guru-bhikṣu-pandita-
- 10 śrī-Dharmmarakṣita-caraṇānām=ā-carndrā-
- 11 [maṛkkam²³-samarppitā (/*) tad=eṣām vidhe-²⁴
- 12 yibhūya yath-ocita[m] dadānāḥ sukham mva(va)-
- 13 sata karṣata c=eti / deśam(śa)-gata-Sim-
- 14 gha(ha)la-sthavirā[nām(nām)] atra sthitinoṣa²⁵
- 15 pūrvva-vyavastha(sthā)yā gauravād=ity=a-²⁴
- 16 śne(śe)ṣaṇ=c=āmīti(sthiti) rāja-guru[nā] vidhātavyā(/*)

14 From a photograph and a silicone cast.

15 I. e. *siddham*, *Oṃ siddhiḥ* or *siddhir=astu*.

16 The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

17 Read *prṣtvā*.

18 An unnecessary *i-mātrā* is attached to the *akṣara*.

19 Read *adya-dīne*.

20 *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

21 Possibly *ācāryānām* was intended here.

22 Read *Kāma*.

23 Read *ā-condr-ārkaṁ*.

24 There is a *daṇḍa* here to cover a little empty space at the end of the line.

25 Read *sthitānām=ca*.

- 17 cyām²⁶ Sīmgha(ha)lānām Mahāvo(bo)dhi-viṣaya[m]
 18 samappi(rppa)yet (/*) na prāpnumo vayaṁ(yam) / amī -
 19 ṣomrthe²⁷ sādānika rā[ṇa]ka-śrī-Vra(Bra)hmadhara-
 20 māṇḍalika-śrī-Sahajapāla-paṁ.²⁸ śrī-Vra(Bra)hm-ādi-
 (dī)-
 21 nām(nām) antaka²⁹ datāni³⁰ iti // . // ³¹

3. *Antichak Stone Pillar Inscription of Māsānikeśa*

Sometimes ago I received, for examination, a set of four inked impressions of writings on four sides of a stone pillar from Prof. B. P. Sinha, Director of Archæology and Museums, Bihār, and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archæology, University of Pāṭnā. The pillar was discovered in course of excavations conducted by the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Pāṭnā, under Prof. Sinha's leadership at Antichak in the vicinity of Pātharghātā not far from the Colgong (Kahalgāon) railway station in the Bhāgalpur District, Bihār. Antichak is believed to be the site of the famous Buddhist monastery of Vikramaśīla which was the *viruda* of an early Pāla monarch to be identified either with Dharmapāla (c. 770-810 A.D. or with his son and successor Devapāla (c. 810-50 A.D.).³² This is what is popularly known as the Vikramaśīla monastery.

The inscription on the Antichak pillar is damaged. It is written in Gaudī characters of the twelfth century A.D. or later. There are altogether 30 lines of writing on the four sides of the pillar—1-9 on the first, 10-17 on the second, 13-25 on the third

26 There is a mistake here.

27 Read *asminn=arthe*.

28 I. e. *paṇḍita*.

29 Read *antike*.

30 Read *dattam sāsanaṁ*.

31 In both the cases, the first member of the double *daṇḍa* has an angular projection towards the left.

32 *Hist. Beng.*, Vol. I, ed. Majumdar, p. 115 and note 1.

and 26-30 on the fourth. The record is composed in verse, there being 13 stanzas in different metres.

Verse 1 introduces a *pura* or city described as *Cammābhi-dhāna* which may be a mistake for *Camp-ābhidhāna*, 'Campā by name'. The old city of Campā was situated in the suburbs of modern Bhāgalpur, about 25 miles from Antichak. Its existence in the twelfth century A. D. is indicated by an image inscription³³ according to which the image in question was installed, during the reign of Palapāla, at Campā about the close of the century. The next verse introduces *Rājādhirāja Paramēśvara* Kesara, who may have claimed to be at least an independent if not an imperial ruler, as having flourished at the city mentioned in the previous stanza. Kesara is mentioned as an early king of the family to which the epigraph belonged; but his date as well as his relationship with the Pāla emperors cannot be determined.

In Kesara's family was born, according to verse 3, Hansana, i.e. Hamsana, described as Lord Cakrapāni (Viṣṇu) incarnate. Hamsana's wife, whose name cannot be fully deciphered, is mentioned in verse 4. This name was written in four *akṣaras*, the second and third of which are rubbed off, though the first is *Va* and the last *sā*.

Verse 5, which is fragmentary, introduces Sāhura or Sāhvara, the son of Hamsana and *Va***sā*. The inscription (verses 5-10) is really a *praśasti* of this chief. Verse 6 is fragmentary, its first foot containing the words *rājyeṣa-bandhuvacasā*, 'at the word of the king's friend', and the third foot-*prāptas=tam=enam=atha Gauḍa-nareśvaro=pi*, 'even the lord of Gauḍa received this very self of him'. It may be that Sāhura was introduced to the Gauḍa king by one of the latter's courtiers and received the king's grace. The first foot of verse 7 says that, stationed at the place which must have been men-

33 *Journ. Bih. Res. Soc.*, Vol. XLI, Part 2, pp. 1ff.

tioned in the previous stanza, a person (apparently Sāhura) fought with certain enemies, while the fragmentary second foot of the verse mentions the river Gaṅgā. This suggests that the place in question may have been on the Ganges. The reference may be to Campā (Bhāgalpur) or Antichak. The latter part of the stanza suggests that Sāhura spent considerable time in the company of various scholars in the discussion of *kāvya* (poems) and *kathā* (stories). Sāhura thus appears to have been a good fighter as well as a learned man.

Verse 8 says that a general named Soṇadāman (Svarṇadāman) was sent by the lord of Vaṅga, at the head of a large fleet of boats, in order to subdue Sāhura. The next stanza, which is fragmentary, describes a great fight and apparently Sāhura's victory over Soṇadāman and states that our hero succeeded in subduing the elephant force of the lord of Vaṅga. The question now is whether the Gaudeśvara and the Vaṅgeśvara are the same person or two different persons. If the same person is described as the lord of both Gauḍa and Vaṅga, we have to think that the said king was at first a friend, but later an enemy of Sāhura. If, however, the Vaṅgeśvara and Gaudeśvara were two different rulers, we may conjecture that the reference is to the days of struggle between the Pāla king Madanapāla (1143-61 A. D.), called the lord of Gauḍa, and the Sena king Vijayasena (1097-1159 A. D.), called the lord of Vaṅga.³⁴ The second of the two interpretations is probably supported by verse 22 of the Deopādā inscription of Vijaya, according to which the Sena king led a naval expedition along the course of the Ganges in order to subdue the kings of the west.³⁵

The first half of verse 10 is fragmentary and unintelligible.

34 Vijayasena was at first a feudatory, then an enemy and still later an ally of Madanapāla (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 245-46).

35 See N. G. Majumdar, *Ins. Beng.*, Vol. III, pp. 42ff.

It mentions *cela-dvayaṃ* meaning two pieces of garments probably given to a monk. The latter half of the stanza, which is also fragmentary, speaks of a *vihāra* or Buddhist monastery built in the hilly region by the *rājyapāla* or ruler and of the establishment of something (probably an image) by Sāhura therein. This *rājyapāla* may have been the lord of Gauḍa whose partisan Sāhura was. He was probably no person called Rājyapāla.

Verse 11 introduces Māsānīkeśa, as famous as the lord of gods, *i.e.* Indra, as the son of Sāhura. The next verse says that the learned Māsānīkeśa secured the services of a Paṇḍita named Mañjuśrī who appears to have been a Buddhist and is stated to have publicised Sāhura's 'white' fame in the form of the present eulogy. The last verse contains a prayer for the longevity of Sāhura's *kīrti* (fame-producing work, *i.e.* the image installed) and wishes it to last as long as the sun and the moon shine in the sky, the Gaṅgā flows, the earth moves and Bharga (Śiva) and Kṛṣṇa (Viṣṇu) are in the embrace respectively of Gaurī and the Ocean's daughter (Lakṣmī).

Although Mañjuśrī, author of the eulogy, seems to have been a Buddhist and Sāhura, the subject of his *prastuti*, was also apparently a Buddhist, the composition of the inscription exhibits considerable Brāhmaṇical influence; cf. references to Cakrapāṇi, Bharga, Kṛṣṇa, Gaurī and Jaladhītanayā. There is nothing particularly Buddhistic in the record except Sāhura's pious act which is the installation probably of an image in a Buddhist *vihāra* made by the Buddhist Pāla king apparently at Antichak, supposed to be the old Vikramaśīla monastery, though this name cannot be traced in the extant part of the epigraph.

Nothing is known about the persons mentioned in the Antichak inscription from any other source. Their non-Sanskritic names suggest that they were probably scions of an aboriginal tribe like the Cero (Ceravu) king Bhulla, son of

Durlabha and grandson of Parāu and known from the Bihia (Shāhābād District, Bihār) copper-plate inscription dated 1324 A. D.³⁶

T E X T³⁷

Metres : verses 1-9 *Vasantatilaka* ; verse 10 *Sragdharā* ; verse 11 *Vasantatilaka* ; verse 12 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 13 *Mandākrāntā*.

First Side

- 1 [Symbol.]³⁸
Āsit=puraṁ kanaka-mandira-jāla-kānti-
bhinn-āndhakāra-pavan-āsta-ni-
- 2 śā-vibhāga[m] /
Cammā(mp-ā)bhidhānam — amalendu-kalā-kalāp-ā-
staṁ kāśa-mauktika-
- 3 vitāna-virājamānaṁ(nam) // 1
Tatr=ābhavad=bharita-bhūri-digantarāla-
vra(bra)hmāṇḍa-khaṇḍa-
- 4 paripiṇḍita-kīrtti-rāśiḥ /
rājādhirāja-parameśvara-divyamūrtiḥ
śrī-Kesaraḥ
- 5 sakala-bhūmipati-pradīpaḥ // 2
Tasy=ānvaye vijita-vairi-jana-pratāpaḥ
śakti-tray-aika-va-
- 6 satir=guṇavān=prasūtaḥ /
śrī-Hansa(Hansa)naḥ prahata-sarvva-Kali-pracāraḥ
sākṣāt=sa eva bhagavā-
- 7 n=iva Cakrapāṇiḥ // 3
tasya priyā vinaya-puñja-nivāsa-bhūmiḥ
śrīgeri(ṅgāra)-rāśir=iva Va U—
- 8 U sā va(ba)bhūva /

36 See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 140 ff.

37 From impressions received from Prof. B. P. Sinha.

38 It indicates *Siddham*, *Oṃ siddhiḥ* or *siddhir=astu*.

yasyā visā(śā)latara-tāra-vilocanena
nirbhartsitā iva mṛgā vanavāsam=iṣu-

9 h // 4

Second Side

10 Sūnus=tayoh kalita-viśva-kalā-[kalāpah*]

— — U' — UUU — UU — U — — [/+]

11 Śrī-Sāhvaras=tribhuvan-[ābha]ya — U — — h

— — U — UUU — UU — U — —

12 h // 5

Rājyeśa-vam(bam)dhu-vacasā pari — U — —

— — U — UUU — UU — U — —

13 /

prāptas=tam=enam=atha Gauḍa-nareśvaro=pi

— — U — UUU — UU — U — —

14 // 6

Tatra sthitah prahata-vairi-vadhū-vilāso

Gaṅgā ca — UUU — UU — U — — /

15 nānā-vidagdha-jana-kāvya-kathā-prasaṅgaiḥ

kālām nināya sucira[m] ra U — prasārah // 7

16 — — U re subhatako=pi vimāna-bhūta-

naukā-sahasra-parivāra-kṛta-pratāpah /

Vaṅgeśvarena subhata-

17 h kila Soṇadāmā

Śrī-Sāhuraṁ damayitum prahitaḥ kṛt-ālīḥ // 8

āgatya so=pi subhata[h*]

Third Side

18 UU — U garvbho(rbbho)

yuddham cakāra karavāla-sahasra-gho[ram /]

taṁ Sāhuro=pi

19 UU — U jinam U — —

— — U Vaṅga-ṇipater=vara-danti-yūtham(tham) // 9

Tatr — āditya U — —

20 UUUUUU — — U — — gṛhītvā-

kṛtvā tasy=aiva cela-dvayam=i UU

- 21 U — m-āmalam kṛtsna — — /
[Gaṅgā*]-tīre vihāre giri-bhuvi racite rājya-
- 22 pālena yatnā-
l-lokānām puṇya — — UUUU matinā sthāpitām
Sāhurena // 10
- Tasy=ā-
- 23 tmajo jayati Māsanikeśa-nāmā
khyāto va(ba)bhūva Suranātha iva dvitīyaḥ /
yasy = ā-
- 24 vadāta yaśasā viśadīkṛteṣu
jyotsnā-vilāsa-viratir=nna diśām mukhesu / 11
Ten=ābhyasta-
- 25 samasta-śāstra-patunā vidyā-vadhū-
preyasā
Mañjuśrīr=iti ko — pi paṇḍita jana[h]

Fourth Side

- 26 premṇā samīpi-
kṛta[h] /
ten = āyam Surasindhu-tuṅga-lahari-nīhāra-śau(śai)la-
- 27 dyutiḥ
kīrttiḥ Sāhura-vallabhā prakāṣitā vāgbhiḥ praśasti-
cchalāt // 12
- 28 Yāvad = bhānus = tapati gagane yāvad = āste sudhānśu-
(dhāmśu'r =
yāvad = Gaṅgā vahati
- 29 valate yāvad = eṣā dharitri /
yāvad = Gauri-Jaladhitanay-āliṅgitau Bhargga-
- 30 Kṛṣṇau.
kīrttis = tāvat = kumuda-dhavalā rājatām Sāhurasya //

FOREIGN ACCOUNTS OF MARRIAGE IN ANCIENT INDIA

SAMARESH BANDYOPADHYAY

1. *Introduction.* The importance of marriage does not require any emphasis. As Al Bīrūnī aptly observes, "no nation can exist without a regular married life, for it prevents the uproar of passions abhorred by the cultivated mind, and it removes all those causes which excite the animal to a fury always leading to harm."¹ He also observes that 'considering the life of the animals by pairs, how the one member of the pair helps the other and how the lust of other animals of the same species is kept aloof from them, you cannot help declaring matrimony to be a necessary institution ;² whilst disorderly cohabitation or

1 Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Vol. II, p. 154.

2 Whether the term 'marriage' can be used to denote a social institution complete by itself or not is a matter regarding which there is some controversy. According to W. G. Sumner (*Folkways*, Ginn, New York, 1906, pp. 348-49), 'although we speak of marriage as an institution, it is only an imperfect one'. "It has no structure. The family is the institution, and it was antecedent to marriage. Marriage has always been an elastic and variable usage, as it now is ... In fact the use of language reflects the vagueness of marriage, for we use the word 'marriage' for wedding, nuptials or matrimony (wedlock). Only the last can be an institution." Westermarck (*History of Human Marriage*, Vol. I, 5th ed., London, 1921, p. 26) points out that 'marriage is something more than a regulated sexual behaviour', and that 'it is an economic institution, which may in various ways affect the proprietary rights of the parties', and as a social institution, according to him, it should be defined 'as a relation of one or more men to one or more women which is recognised by custom or law, and involves certain rights and duties both in the case of the parties entering the union and in the case of the children born of it'. For further discussions, see P. H. Prabhu, *Hindu Social Organisation*, 4th ed., Bombay, 1963, pp. 147-50. Prabhu remarks that 'it

harlotry on the part of a man is a shameful proceeding, that does not even attain to the standing of the development of animals, which in every other respect stand far below [him]. It is well known that the system of marriage is not the same in all countries and that 'every nation has particular customs of marriage, and especially those who claim to have a religion and law of divine origin'.³ In India, where marriage is held not as a mere contract, but as a religious sacrament from the days of the *R̥gveda*, in the matter of weddings, 'customs are diverse',⁴ and, interestingly enough, some of these find mention in the accounts of the foreigners.

2. *Polygamy*. As Strabo says,⁵ the marriage system in India, according to Megasthenes, was polygamous. Thus, it is stated that the Indians marry many wives, marrying some of them for the sake of prompt obedience and the others for the sake of pleasure and numerous offspring. That Megasthenes' statement was not entirely a fiction is apparent from the fact that although monogamy had always been held as ideal and fines were prescribed for marrying a second wife without sufficient cause, 'a man', as Kauṭilya lays down, 'could marry several wives after giving *sulka* and *strīdhana* to those to whom nothing had been given at the time of marriage and money on supersession (*ādhyvedanika*) and suitable provision for liveli-

would be impossible to study the problem of marriage without at the same time involving ourselves into the discussion of some important and fundamental questions relating to the institution of the family', and, according to him, 'all these considerations are equally true of the Hindu social institution of *vivāha*'.

3 Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

4 *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra*, I. 7. 1 ; cf. *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 209.

5 McCrindle, *Anc. Ind. Meg. Ar.*, pp. 69, 99-100 ; Majumdar, *Class. Ac. Ind.*, pp. 270, 274. Strabo (Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 276) further says that Aristobulus also noticed the custom of marrying many wives.

hood.⁶ A similar state of affairs appears to have continued for several centuries as is suggested not only by several indigenous literary and epigraphic records,⁷ but also by a statement of Al Bīrūnī made in connection with his observations on the matrimony of the Hindus. The statement of this author runs as follows : "A man may marry one to four wives. He is not allowed to take more than four ; but if one of his wives die, he may take another one to complete the legitimate number. However, he must not go beyond it."⁸ Al Bīrūnī also draws attention to the belief of some of the Hindus that the number of wives depended upon the caste to which a man belonged ; a Brāhmaṇa being allowed to have four wives, a Kṣatriya three, a Vaiśya two and a Śūdra one⁹ The belief of a section of the Hindus, referred to by the scholar, however, corresponds exactly to a statement of Devala, quoted in the *Gṛhastharatnākara*, that a Śūdra is allowed to have one wife, and a Vaiśya two, a Kṣatriya

6 *Arthaśāstra*, II. 2. Kauṭilya prescribes that 'a husband should wait for eight years (before marrying another) if his wife gives birth to no child after one delivery or is sonless or is barren ; he should wait for ten if she bears only still-born children, twelve years if she gives birth to daughters only. Then if he is anxious for a son, he may marry another. If he violates these rules he must pay her gratuity, some wealth as *stridhana* and money (prescribed to be given) on supersession and besides a fine [to the king] of 24 *paṇas*' ; cf. Manu, IX. 81, and Baudhāyana, II. 2.65 for similar periods of waiting. For the amount of *adhivedanika* to be given by the husband, cf. Yāj., II. 148. Cf. also Kane, *Hist. Dharm.*, Vol. II, pp. 551-52.

7 In the *Mahābhārata* (I. 160.36), we are told that it is no *adharma* on the part of a man to have many wives. According to the same work (XVI. 5 6), Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa had sixteen thousand wives. The Jabalpur plate of Yaśaḥ-Karṇadeva dated 1122 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 4) and the Khairā plates of the same king (*ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 205) refer to the attainment of *mukti* at Prayāga by the Cedi king Gāṅgeyadeva with his thousand [hundred - Ed.] wives.

8 Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

9 *Loc. cit.*

three, and a Brāhmaṇa four wives, and a king as many as he liked'.¹⁰

3. *Polyandry*. While discussing the question whether a Hindu law can be abrogated, Al Bīrūnī speaks of certain Hindu customs which were abolished and abrogated and infers that, in principle, the abrogation of a law is allowable. One of the customs referred to by him was that which allowed the different sons of a man to have one wife in common, and on the basis of which 'the four sons of Pāṇḍu shared one wife who stayed one month with each of them alternately'.¹¹ But, although he states that this custom allowing a woman to have different brothers as husbands was already abolished, while referring to the 'unnatural kinds of marriage' which were still prevalent, he remarks that 'the people inhabiting the mountains stretching from the region of Panchir into the neighbourhood of Kashmir live under the rule that several brothers have one wife in common'.

The Vedic literature does not contain any reference to a woman having several husbands, *i.e.* polyandry, and although some scholars¹² believe that Āpastamba¹³ and Bṛhaspati¹⁴ refer to it, others are of the opinion that the Smṛtis nowhere contemplate the possibility of polyandry while discussing the marriage rules and customs.¹⁵ Draupadī's marriage with the

10 *Gṛhastharatnākara*, p. 85. For references to kings having many wives, see note 6 above. Marco Polo (though with much evident exaggeration) speaks of 'the 500 wives' of the king of Ma'bar and 'the 300 wives' of the king of Cail (cf. *Strugg. Emp.*, p. 480). [The view is older than Devala.—Ed.]

11 Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 108. ['Four sons' is a mistake for 'five sons'.—Ed.]

12 Cf. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 555.

13 II. 10. 27. 2-4.

14 Quoted in the *Smṛticandrikā*, I. 10.

15 Cf. Altekar, *Pos. Wom. Hind. Civ.*, 3rd ed., p. 112.

five Pāṇḍava brothers mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* is the most famous instance of polyandry in Sanskrit literature.¹⁶ The tradition was too deeply rooted to be ignored by the poet, although the *Mahābhārata* clearly shows that all were shocked to hear that Yudhiṣṭhira resolved to make Draupadī the wife of five brothers and vehement attempts were made to dissuade Yudhiṣṭhira by Dhṛṣṭadyumna.¹⁷ Yudhiṣṭhira, however, cited two instances in favour of this practice,¹⁸ viz. of Jaṭilā Gautamī (who had seven sages as husbands) and of Vārki who had ten Prācetasas brothers as husbands. But, the instances are considered rather mythical, and in explaining away this puzzling occurrence, some scholars have gone to such an extent as to regard the Pāṇḍavas as a Nonaryan tribe somehow grafted on the Aryan stock¹⁹ or as a branch of the Aryans different from the Kauravas.²⁰ It has also been argued that there were several Draupadis very similar to each other and the epic figuratively speaks of one Draupadī only, and that 'Draupadī was not a lady in flesh and blood, but stood for royal glory (*rājya-lakṣmī*) and her marriage with five brothers is only intended to show that they were jointly ruling their kingdom with absolute accord'.²¹

Generally two types of polyandry are referred to, 'one matriarchal (where a woman forms simultaneous alliances with two or more men who are not necessarily relations of each other and therefore succession is traced through the female) and the other fraternal, where a woman becomes the wife of several

16 The *Kuṇḍala Jātaka* (No. 536) also refers to a polynadrous marriage of a princess named Kaṇhā (*Kṛṣṇā*), i.e. Draupadī.

17 I. 195. 27-29.

18 I. 196. 1ff.

19 Cf. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 554.

20 Cf. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

21 *Tantravārttika*, p. 209.

brothers'.²² The former type of polyandry, as Kane²³ points out, has gone out of practice, and the latter one still survives to some extent in Kumaun and Garhwal and among peoples in the Himalayan area upto Assam.²⁴

4. *Niyoga*. Al Birūnī refers to another custom of the Hindus which also was abolished and abrogated. He describes it as follows: 'if a stranger has a child by a married woman, the child belongs to her husband, since the wife being, as it were, the soil in which the child has grown, is the property of the husband, always presupposing that the sowing, i.e. the cohabitation, takes place with his consent. According to this principle, Pāṇḍu was a son of Śāntanu.'²⁵

It is apparent that the custom referred to by Al Birūnī is *niyoga*, i.e. appointment of a wife or a widow to procreate a son from intercourse with an appointed man, regarding the origin and purpose of which there is considerable difference of opinion among the Smṛti writers. While some allowed *niyoga* specifying certain conditions,²⁶ the violation of which

22 Cf. *Imp. Gaz. Ind.*, Vol. I, 1907, p. 483.

23 *Op. cit.*, pp. 555-56.

24 According to Indrajī (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 88), in Kumaun between the Tons and Jamuna rivers about Kalsi, Rājputās, Brāhmaṇas and Śūdras practise polyandry and the children are attributed to the eldest living brother. While commenting on the *Mahābhārata*, I. 104. 35, Nilakaṇṭha refers to the prevalence of the practice of one woman with two or three husbands among low caste people in his time. Cf. also Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 556 and notes.

25 Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 107. ['Śāntanu' is a mistake for 'Vicitra-vīrya'.—Ed.]

26 Gautama, XVIII. 4-14; XXVIII. 32; Vasiṣṭha, XVII. 56-65; Bau-dhāyana, II. 2. 17, 68-70; Manu, IX. 59-61; Yāj., I. 68-69; Nārada, *Śrī-puta*, 80-83. According to Kauṭilya (*Arthaśāstra*, I. 17), a king who is old or suffering from [incurable] disease should procreate a son on his queen through a *mātṛ-bandhu* or a feudatory chief endowed with qualities similar to his. In a different context, he says (*ibid.*, III. 6) that, if a Brāhmaṇa dies without leaving a near heir, then a *sagotra* or *mātṛ-bandhu* may be appoint-

made one liable to be punished,²⁷ others²⁸ condemned and forbade it. After a thorough analysis of the data in the Smṛtis, Kane²⁹ enumerates the conditions required to be fulfilled to allow *niyoga* under the following broad heads: (1) the husband, whether living or dead, must have no sons; (2) the *gurus* in a family council should decide to appoint the widow to raise issue for the husband, (3) the person appointed must be either the husband's brother, or a *sapiṇḍa* or *sagotra* of the husband (according to Gautama, a *sapravara* or a person of the same caste); (4) the person appointed and the widow must be actuated by no lust, but only by a sense of duty; (5) the person appointed must be anointed with ghee or oil, must not speak with or kiss her or engage in sportive dalliance with the woman; (6) this relationship was to last till one son was born (or two according to some); (7) the widow must be comparatively young, she should not be old or sterile or past child-bearing age or sickly or unwilling or pregnant; (8) after the birth of a son they were to regard themselves as father-in-law and daughter-in-law. As Kane points out, the Smṛtis also make it clear that 'if a brother-in-law

ed to procreate a *kṣetraja* son, who should get the inheritance. Cf. also Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 599-601; Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-46.

27 According to Nārada (*Śrīpuraṇḍa*, 85-86), one acting contrary to the provisions about *niyoga* should be punished heavily, and in the *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti* (II. 234), a fine of one hundred *paṇas* is prescribed for such a person.

28 Āpastamba, II. 10. 27. 5-7; Baudhāyana, II. 2. 38; Manu, IX. 64-68; cf. also Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 602-03; Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-48. Bṛhaspati (quoted by Aparārka on Yāj., I. 68-69) 'refers to the fact that the *Manusmṛiti* first described the ancient *niyoga* and then forbade it and adds that, in former times, men possessed *tapas* and knowledge and could strictly carry out the rules while, in the *Dvāpara* and *Kali* ages, there is great deterioration of power and so men of these times cannot now practise *niyoga*'.

29 *Op. cit.*, p. 601.

has intercourse with his sister-in-law without appointment by elders, but the other circumstances do not exist (e.g. if the husband has a son), he would be guilty of the sin of incest and a son, born of such intercourse, would be a bastard and not entitled to any wealth and that he would belong to the begetter.'

Gradually, however, the school condemning *niyoga* began to grow stronger and stronger and public opinion became very strong against it. This is apparent from the fact that while Viśvarūpa³⁰ says that the procreation of sons by Vyāsa from the queens of Vicitravīrya mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*³¹ should not be paid any heed (*i.e.* is not to be relied on) like the marriage of Draupadī with five Pāṇḍava brothers, Medhātithi clearly states that *niyoga*, though permitted by the Smṛtis, should not be practised as it is considered blameworthy by the people.³² He condemns the practice by pointing out, on the basis of the Śāstras, that the act of the brother-in-law having intercourse with his widowed sister-in-law was a regular marriage, because marriage in the injunction of marriage stood for intercourse; and as widows were not entitled to remarry, the practice of *niyoga* was void.³³ Medhātithi's statement that the practice of *niyoga* was void shows that the practice no longer received popular support and legal sanction, and there-

30. Cf. Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 602-03 and notes.

31. I. 105; cf. other cases in I. 95, I. 103, I. 126, I. 127, I. 132. Although later Smṛti writers allow only one son to be raised by *niyoga*, the earlier practice was different. Kuntī raised three sons by *niyoga*. Pāṇḍu, however, was not satisfied with that number and pressed his wife to have some more. Kuntī protested against the suggestion, pointing out that the custom permitted only three sons by *niyoga* and not more (I. 132. 63-64). It is said that king Bali had seventeen sons by *niyoga*, six raised on his crown-
ed queen and eleven on a Śūdra wife (I. 113).

32. On Manu, IV. 176.

33. On Manu, IX. 64-65.

fore tallies with the evidence of Al Bīrūnī that *niyoga* was no longer in vogue in his days, as noted above.

5. *Intercaste Marriage*. According to the Classical authors, intermarriage between the castes was prohibited.³⁴ Hiuen-tsang also states that 'the members of a caste marry within the caste'.³⁵ These statements no doubt suggest that intercaste marriage was not allowed as is also indicated by the *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*, according to which one should marry a girl of the same *varṇa*, who was not given before to another and marriage with whom is in accordance with the *śāstra*, and which remarks that by violating these rules sin is incurred.³⁶ It may, however, be pointed out that Gautama,³⁷ Vasiṣṭha,³⁸ Manu³⁹ and Yājñavalkya⁴⁰ prescribe that a person should by preference marry a girl of his own *varṇa*, but also allow the marriage of a person with a girl of a *varṇa* lower than his own. In fact, the best course (*pūrvakalpa*), in a marriage, according to some of the Smṛtis, is to marry a virgin of one's own caste, the less advisable course (*anukalpa*) being that which allows a Brāhmaṇa to marry a girl of any other caste, a Kṣatriya, a woman of his own caste or a Vaiśya or Śūdra woman, a Vaiśya, a Vaiśya or Śūdra girl and a Śūdra only a Śūdra girl.⁴¹ Though a

34 Cf. Megasthenes, as quoted by Strabo (McCrinkle, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-86; Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 268), Diodorus (McCrinkle, *op. cit.*, p. 41; Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 238) and Arrian (McCrinkle, *op. cit.*, p. 218; Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 236).

35 Watters, *Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. I, p. 168.

36 II. 6. 13. 1 and 3.

37 IV. 1.

38 I. 24.

39 III. 12-13.

40 I. 55-57. Vātsyāyana also prefers marriage within the same *varṇa* (cf. *Class. Age*, ed. Majumdar, p. 564).

41 Baudhāyana, I. 8. 2; Viṣṇu, 24. 1-4. Cf. also Kane, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 53, 448.

Brāhmaṇa is permitted to marry a Śūdra girl by the *Viṣṇudharma-sūtra* and *Manusmṛti*, such a marriage has, however, been denounced in the strongest words in the same works. According to Yājñavalkya, 'a *dvijāti* should not marry a Śūdra girl'.⁴² Therefore, 'the Smṛtis ungrudgingly recognised marriages between a Brāhmaṇa and a Kṣatriya or a Vaiśya girl', although 'opinion was not unanimous about the marriage of a *dvijāti* with a Śūdra woman'.⁴³ Hiuen-tsang himself made note of the existence of numerous offspring of mixed marriages, though he did not describe them.⁴⁴ While commenting on a passage of Yājñavalkya, Viśvarūpa⁴⁵ states that, in his days, a Brāhmaṇa was allowed to marry a Kṣatriya girl. During the time of Medhātithi⁴⁶ also, marriage of Brāhmaṇas with Kṣatriya and Vaiśya girls took place, though such marriages were not very frequent, though marriage of Brāhmaṇas with Śūdra girls was no longer in vogue.

Ibn Khurdādba says that a Brāhmaṇa could marry the daughter of a Kṣatriya, but a Kṣatriya was not allowed to make the daughter of a Brāhmaṇa his wife.⁴⁷ Al Idrīsī, who derives his information of the castes from Ibn Khurdādba, however, records a different state of affairs. According to him, a Kṣatriya could marry the girl of a Brāhmaṇa, but a Brāhmaṇa could not have a Kṣatriya girl as his wife.⁴⁸ Al Idrīsī made some confusion while reproducing Ibn Khurdādba ; or, the *pratiloma* marriage, i.e. the marriage of the male of the lower order with a female of the higher *varṇa*, the progeny of which has been recognised by the law-givers,

42 I. 57.

43 Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 449.

44 See Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 168.

45 On Yāj., III. 283.

46 On Manu, III. 14.

47 Elliot and Dowson, *Hist. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 16.

48 *Ibid.*, p. 76.

although they resented⁴⁹ such marriage, was a practice in the society. Al Bīrūnī, however, states that 'every man of a caste may marry a woman of his own caste or one of the castes or caste below his; but nobody is allowed to marry a woman of a caste superior to his own'.⁵⁰ Thus, the scriptures consulted by Al Bīrūnī approved the *anuloma* and denounced the *pratiloma* marriage. It may be interesting to note that, like Al Bīrūnī, Kullūka⁵¹ while commenting on a passage of Manu states that no marriage is legally possible between a female of a higher *varṇa* and a male of a lower order. Kane, however, points out that, according to authors like Uśanas and Vaikhānasa, 'there could be a legal marriage when a woman of a higher *varṇa* married a male of a lower *varṇa*'.⁵² An important information is, however, supplied by Al Bīrūnī when he states that, although permitted by the Smṛtis, intercaste marriages of Brāhmaṇas in the *anuloma* order never took place in his time. The veracity of Al Bīrūnī's testimony, however, appears a little doubtful when we take into consideration the large number of instances of intermarriage⁵³ among castes both in the *anuloma* and *pratiloma* orders as furnished by our literary and epigraphic records. As it will be seen below, some of these marriages took place during the days of Al Bīrūnī.

Of the examples of intercaste marriage known from the Classical Sanskrit literature, mention may be made of the marriage of Agnimitra, son of *Senāpati* Puṣyamitra of the Śuṅga dynasty and a Brāhmaṇa, with the Kṣatriya princess Mālavikā, as recorded by Kālidāsa in his *Mālavikāgnimitra*,* and the marriage of Bāṇa's father with a

49 Cf. Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-53.

50 Sachau, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-56.

51 On Manu, X. 11.

52 *Op. cit.*, p. 54.

53 Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 449-50.

* [Act I has an interesting reference to the Chief Queen's *varṇ-āvara* *bhrāṭā* (brother of an inferior *varṇa*).—Ed.]

Śūdra woman⁵⁴ who gave birth to Candrasena and Mātṛsena, known from the *Harṣacarita*. According to Hiuen-tsang, the reigning king of Fa-la-pi (Valabhī), who was a Kṣatriya by birth, married the daughter of Śīlāditya,⁵⁵ i.e. Harsa,⁵⁶ a Vaiśya. Kane draws our attention⁵⁷ to the *Karpūramāñjarī* which states that Avantisundarī, the wife of Rājaśekhara who was the teacher of king Mahendrapāla of Kanauj, was a girl of the Cāhuāṇa family (i.e. a Kṣatriya family). The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* records the marriage of a sister of king Saṅgrāmārāja (1003-28 A.D.) with a Brāhmana youth.⁵⁸ Reference may now be made to some of the numerous instances of inter-caste marriage gathered from our epigraphs. A Kanheri inscription⁵⁹ reveals that Vāsisthīputra Śātakarṇi of the Śātavāhana family, the members of which were Dravidians claiming the status of Brāhmana apparently owing to a little Brāhmana blood in their veins, married the daughter of Śaka *Mahākṣatrapa* Ru[dra], i.e. Rudradāman. Leaving aside this example where a Brāhmana is involved in a marriage with the girl of a foreign family, the caste of which is not known with certainty, although, in placing the foreigners in the social structure of our country, Manu describes the Śakas as degraded Kṣatriya⁶⁰ and Patañjali as *aniravasita* Śūdra,⁶¹ attention may be drawn to the well-known marriage of Prabhāvatiguptā, daughter of

54 The offspring of a Brāhmana male and Śūdra female was called a Pārāśava or a Nisāda (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 86-88). The *Mahābhārata* (I. 109. 25) call Vidura a Pārāśava and mentions (114. 12) him as having married the Pārāśava daughter of king Devaka. [Read *Pārāśava*.—Ed.]

55 Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 246.

56 Cf. *Class. Age*, ed. Majumdar, p. 561, note 7.

57 *Op. cit.*, p. 450.

58 *Op. cit.*, VIII, 10.

59 Cf. *A. Imp. Un.*, ed. Majumdar, pp 183, 203.

60 Manu, X. 43-44. Manu also describes the Kambojas, Yavanas (Greeks), Pāradas, Pahlavaś, Cīnas, etc., as degraded Kṣatriyas.

61 On Pāṇini, II. 4. 10.

Candragupta II, with the Brāhmaṇa king Rudrasena II of the Vākāṭaka family of the Viṣṇuvṛddha-gotra.⁶² The Ghaṭotkaca inscription of Yaśodharman and Viṣṇuvardhana⁶³ states that Brāhmaṇa Soma, ancestor of Hastibhoja, the minister of the Vākāṭaka king Devasena, married Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya⁶⁴ wives. From the Tippera copper-plate grant of Lokanātha, we come to know that Brāhmaṇa Vīra married a Śūdra wife and begot a son named Keśava who was the maternal grandfather of Lokanātha. An inscription dated in Vikrama 894 refers to the Pratihāra kings being descended from the Brāhmaṇa Haricandra and the latter's Kṣatriya wife.⁶⁵ It is stated in the Ātपुर inscription of Śaktikumāra, dated in 977 A. D., that Bhartṛpatta, a descendant of the Brāhmaṇa Guhadatta, progenitor of the Guhila dynasty, married a Rāṣtrakūṭa princess.⁶⁶ Kane⁶⁷ also draws our attention to the marriage of a Brāhmaṇa named Brahma or Bomanna Wodeya, the governor of Āraga,⁶⁸ with Virūpādevī, a daughter of the famous Vijayanagara king Bukka I (1268-98 A.D.).* As for an instance of the *pratiloma* marriage, reference is often made⁶⁹ to the marriage of a daughter of Kākusthavarman of the Kadamba family, which originally claimed the status of the Brāhmaṇa and later that of the Kṣatriya, with a Gupta king recorded in

62 *Ep Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 39.

63. *Arch Surv. West. Ind. Reports*, Vol. IV, p. 140. [The Ghaṭotkaca cave inscription is a Vākāṭaka epigraph (*CII*, Vol. V, pp. 112ff) and not a record of Yaśodharman *alias* Viṣṇuvardhana for whose Mandasor inscription, see *ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 150ff; Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, 1965, pp. 411ff.—Ed.]

64 *Ep Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 301ff.

65 *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 87.

66 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 186ff.

67 *Op. cit.*, p. 450.

68 *Ep Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 12.

* [The reign of Bukka I is now assigned to 1344-77 A.D.—Ed.]

69 *Class. Age*, ed. Majumdar, p. 561, note 7; Kane, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 449-50; *JAIH*, Vol. I, p. 93. [Cf. above, pp. 91-93.—Ed.]

the Talagunda pillar inscription.⁷⁰ Though mostly scholars believe that the Guptas were not Brāhmaṇas, some taking them as Kṣatriyas⁷¹ and others⁷² as Vaiśyas, recently an attempt⁷³ has been made to show that they could have been Brāhmaṇas as well.*

6. *Status of Anuloma Progeny*, While referring to the fact that in his time the Brāhmaṇas did 'not marry a woman except one of their own caste', Al Bīrūnī⁷⁴ throws interesting light on the position of the offspring of the *anuloma* marriage. According to him, the child belonged to the caste of the mother and not to that of the father, and he illustrates this by mentioning that if the wife of a Brāhmaṇa was a Brāhmaṇa, her child also was a Brāhmaṇa, and if she was a Śūdra, her child was a Śūdra. On the issue of the status of the progeny of the *anuloma* marriage, our law-givers, however, differ. According to some, if a man of one *varṇa* marries a woman of the *varṇa* immediately after it, the progeny belongs to the *varṇa* of the father,⁷⁵ while others think that the progeny of *anuloma* union is in status lower than the father, but higher than the mother.⁷⁶ There is a

70 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 24.

71 G. S. Ojha (*Rājputāne kā Itihās*, in Hindi, pp. 113-14), S. Chattopadhyay (*E. Hist. N. Ind.*, 1958, p. 140), G. P. Mehta (*Candragupta Vikramāditya*, in Hindi, p. 9, note 1), V. Upadhyay (*Gupta Sāmrajya kā Itihās*, in Hindi, Vol. 1, pp. 28-31) and others (cf. S. R. Goyal, *Hist. Imp. Gupta*, p. 76 and notes 5-6) subscribe to the view that the Guptas were Kṣatriyas.

72 Scholars including A. S. Altekar (*N. Hist. Ind. Peop.*, pp. 342, 344), Aiyanger (*Anc. Ind.*, etc., p. 180), V. V. Mirashi (*Vākātaka Rājavanśa*, p. 56) and others (cf. Goyal, *op. cit.*, p. 75 and note 4) advocate the view that the Guptas were Vaiśyas.

73 Goyal, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-75, 78-81.

* [Caste practically played little part in the matrimonial alliances of Indian rulers (above, Vol. I, p. 91).—Ed.]

74 Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 156.

75 Cf. Baudhāyana, 1. 8. 6 and 1. 9. 3. Cf. also Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 56, for other authorities of this group.

76 Manu, X. 6.

third group that believes that the progeny of *anuloma* marriage is of the same *varṇa* (as regards its privileges and obligations) as the mother's.⁷⁷ The authorities used by Al Birūnī appear to have belonged to the third group. As Kane points out,⁷⁸ 'a Classical echo of this view is found in the *Śakuntalā* of Kālidāsa⁷⁹ where king Duṣyanta exclaims aside to himself, 'would that this girl were born of the sage from a wife who was not: *savarṇa*.'

7. *Forbidden Degrees of Marriage.* Though Hiuen-tsang says that a man should marry a girl of his own caste, he observes that 'relations whether by the father's or the mother's side do not intermarry',⁸⁰ i.e. no marriages were contracted between the relatives of the father and those of the mother. The pilgrim's observation while revealing the well-known endogamous character of Indian marriage shows that within the same caste there were certain groups which were forbidden for marriage to a person belonging to another group of the same caste. In other words, the principle of exogamy operated within the same caste itself. Hiuen-tsang's short account of the prohibited degrees of marriage may, however, be explained in a better way with the help of a more detailed account given by Al Birūnī. The latter states that, according to the marriage law of the Hindus, 'it is better to marry a stranger than a relative.' "The more distant the relationship of a woman with regard to her husband the better. It is absolutely forbidden to marry related women both of the direct descending line, viz. a granddaughter or great-granddaughter, and of the direct ascending line, viz. a mother, grandmother, or great-grandmother. It is also forbidden to

⁷⁷ Viṣṇu, 16. 2 and Śaṅkha (prose) quoted by the *Mitākṣarā* on Yāj., 1. 91, and Aparārka, as cited by Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

⁷⁸ *Loc. cit.*

⁷⁹ *Śakuntalā*, Act I. ♪

⁸⁰ Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 168. [This is the prohibition of one's marriage with one's mother's or father's relations.—Ed.]

marry collateral relations, viz. a sister, a niece, a maternal or paternal aunt and their daughters, except in case, the couple of relations who want to marry each other be removed from each other by five consecutive generations." 'In that case the prohibition is waived, but, notwithstanding, such a marriage is an object of dislike' to the Hindus.⁸¹

The restrictions in choosing a girl for marriage, spoken of by Hiuen-tsang and Al Birūnī are based on the prescriptions of ancient Indian authorities. Some of these authorities require that the bride must not be a *sapiṇḍa* or blood relation of the mother of the bridegroom⁸² while others⁸³ 'restrict the prohibition against marrying a *sapiṇḍa* girl to seven degrees on the father's side and five degrees on the mother's side'.⁸⁴ There were also others who not only 'prohibited marriage with a girl who had the same *gotra* as the bridegroom's, but prohibited marriage with a girl whose mother's *gotra* was the same as the bridegroom's'.⁸⁵ Al Birūnī's information on the restriction to marry collateral relations, however, deserves special consideration. For, as Kane rightly observes,⁸⁶ 'on this point opinion has been sharply divided from ancient times.' Al Birūnī's observation is applicable to the conditions prevalent in North India which did not favour marriage with collateral relations. But that marriage with one's maternal uncle's daughter

81 Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 155.

82 Cf. *Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra*, III. 4-5; Manu, III. 5; *Vaikhānasa Smṛta-sūtra*, III. 2; Āpastamba, II. 5. 11. 16; cf. also Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 436-37.

83 Gautama, IV. 2; Vāṣṭha, VIII. 2; Viṣṇu, 24. 10; *Varāha Gṛhyasūtra*, 9; Śāṅkha quoted by Haradatta on Āpastamba, II. 5. 11-16; Yāj., 1. 53; cf. also Kane, *loc. cit.*

84 Cf. Kane, *loc. cit.*

85 Cf. Kane, *loc. cit.*

86 *Op. cit.*, pp. 458-62.

87 I. 1. 19-26. For references in works supporting the marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter, cf. Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 460-62. [Marriage with one's sister's daughter is also popular among South Indian Brāhmaṇas.—Ed.]

or paternal aunt's daughter was in vogue in the southern part of India from quite early times is clearly borne out by the *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*⁸⁷ which mentions it as one of the five peculiar practices of that part of India. The *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*⁸⁸ forbids marriage with one's maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter, and, according to Manu, 'on approaching [for carnal intercourse] the daughter of one's father's sister or of one's mother's sister or of mother's full brother, a man must undergo the penance called *Cāndīāyana*.' 'A wise man should not take as his wife [any one of] these ; they are not fit to be wedded because they are *sapiṇḍa* relatives, for by wedding them one sinks low (i.e. falls into hell or loses caste).'⁸⁹ The prohibition against marriage with a *sapiṇḍa* girl applies to all *varṇas* including the *Śūdra*.⁹⁰ Regarding the meaning of *sapiṇḍa*, there are, however, two schools, one represented by the *Mitākṣarā* and the other by *Jimūtāvāhana*, the author of the *Dāyabhāga*. According to the *Mitākṣarā*, *sapiṇḍa* means one who has the same *piṇḍa*, i.e. body (or particles of the body), and *sapiṇḍa* relationship between two persons arises from their being connected by having particles of the same body.⁹¹ According to the *Dāyabhāga*, *piṇḍa* is 'the ball of rice' and *sapiṇḍa* means 'one who is connected with another through oblations of food'.⁹² Both the schools, however, agree in prohibiting a man's marriage with a *sapiṇḍa* girl. Various attempts have been made by scholars to find out the causes for the prohibition of marriage between near *sapiṇḍas*.⁹³

88 I. 7. 21. 8 ; cf. also Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 458.

89 Manu, X. 172-73. For further details on the points, see Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 459-60 ; B. N. Sharma, *Soc. L. N. Ind.*, p. 11 and note 5.

90 Cf. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 452 and note 1070.

91 On Yāj., I. 53.

92 Cf. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 472.

93 Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 1921 ed., Vol. II, pp. 71-81 ; Rivers, 'Marriage of Cousins in India', *JRAS*, 1907, pp. 611-40 ; Kane *op. cit.*, p. 477.

It is believed by some that the prohibition was due to abhorrence which men in primitive times felt for incest. According to Kane, 'it appears probable that, in India at least, the prohibition was due to two causes ; firstly, the observed fact that, if near relatives marry, their defects are transmitted with aggravation to their offspring and secondly the fear that, if marriages between near relatives by blood were allowed, there may be clandestine love affairs and consequent loss of morals and it would be difficult to secure husbands for girls who would be living under the same roof with several near or distant cousins'.⁹⁴

8 *Settlement of Marriage and Marriageable Age.* Welcome light is thrown on the settlement of marriage by Strabo and Diodorus. The former while referring to the customs peculiar to the Cathæans informs us that 'the groom and the bride choose one another themselves',⁹⁵ and, according to the latter, 'it was an ancient law among the Indians that when youngmen and maidens were minded to wed, they did not marry according to the judgement of their parents, but by mutual consent'.⁹⁶ The information of Strabo and Diodorus on the liberty enjoyed by the Indian bride in choosing her husband in ancient times, however, does not appear baseless when we remember a verse of the *Rgveda*, which states that 'when a bride is fine looking and well adorned, she by herself seeks her friend from among men',⁹⁷ and take into account the numerous references to the *gāndharva* and *svayamvara* marriages.⁹⁸ The mutual settlement of marriage and the selection of the husband by the bride doubtlessly suggest an advanced age for

94 *Op. cit.*, pp. 477-78.

95 Cf. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

96 *Ibid.*, p. 240.

97 X. 27. 12.

98 See Section 11 below.

the girl at the time of wedding. Further, some of the verses in the marriage hymn of the *R̥gveda* show that married girls could not have been child-wives, but must have been grown up.⁹⁹ There are, however, also verses in the *R̥gveda* which are sometimes taken to reveal that 'girls were married before they had attained puberty'.¹⁰⁰ Thus in one place, a wife is found asserting to her husband that she is fully developed physically, and has abundant marks of complete puberty on her persons.¹⁰¹ But according to Altekar, 'this statement is not, however, made to remove the misapprehension of an ignorant husband; the wife makes it in the privacy of the bedroom to excite the passion of her husband, who had previously expressed his exuberant appreciation of her amorous skill.' He, therefore, believes that there is nothing to disprove that marriage in the Vedic age took place when the parties were sufficiently grown-up.¹⁰² Altekar also analyses the evidence of the epics and the Buddhist literature and remarks that 'brides in cultured families used to be about sixteen at the time of their marriage'.¹⁰³

Diodorus, however, also states that 'when in these old times espousals were made between persons of immature age, mistakes of judgement were of frequent occurrence, and when both sides repented their union, many of the women became depraved, and through incontinence fell in love with other men, and when at last they wished to leave the husbands they had first chosen, but could not in decency do so openly, they got rid of them by poison'.¹⁰⁴ The passage, therefore, indicates that sometimes at least marriages were settled by per-

99 X. 85. 26-27, 46.

100 Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 439.

101 X. 126, 6-7.

102 *Op. cit.*, p. 51.

103 *Ibid.*, p. 52.

104 Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

sons who were not mature, and as a result, the choice was often unwise and the union unhappy. Nothing has, however, been stated regarding the age of maturity of either of the parties in the marriage, and at what age the girls were actually married is not clear from the passage. But, on the basis of certain statements of Megasthenes, it is sometimes believed that girls were married at the age of six or seven. Thus, as Phlegon records, it is stated by Megasthenes that women of the Pandaian realm bear children at the age of six.¹⁰⁵ Further, as known from Arrian, according to Megasthenes, 'in that part of the country where the daughter of Heracles reigned as queen, it is said that the women, when seven years old, are of marriageable age, and that the men live at most for forty years, and that on this subject there is a tradition current among the Indians to the effect that Heracles, whose daughter was born to him late in life, when he saw that his end was near, and he knew no man his equal in rank to whom he could give her in marriage, had incestuous intercourse with the girl when she was seven years of age, in order that a race of kings sprung from their common blood might be left to rule over India ; that Heracles therefore made her of suitable age for marriage, and that in consequence the whole nation over which Pandaia reigned obtained this same privilege.'¹⁰⁶ Arrian¹⁰⁷ at first, however, expresses some doubt about the tradition by pointing out that 'if Heracles could have done a thing so marvellous, he could also have made himself longer-lived, in order to have intercourse with his daughter when she was of mature age.' But, referring to the statement of Megasthenes that the very fruits of the country ripened faster than fruits elsewhere and decayed faster, he remarks that 'if the age at which the women there are marriageable is correctly stated, this is quite

105 *Ibid.*, p. 455.

106 McCrindle, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-08 ; Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 222-23.

107 McCrindle, *op. cit.*, p. 208 ; Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

consistent...with what is said of the men's age,—that those who live longest die at forty ; for men who come so much sooner to old age, and with old age to death, must of course flower into full manhood as much earlier as their life ends earlier.' According to him, therefore, it is quite usual 'that men of thirty would there be in their green old age, and young men would at twenty be past puberty, while the stage of full puberty would be reached about fifteen. And, quite compatibly with this, the women might be marriageable at the age of seven.'

A. S. Altekar, however, does not attach any importance to the information supplied by the Greek ambassador as the latter made the statement about girls of a place which he had never visited. According to him, 'the marriage at the age of six (*sic*), and conception at the age of seven (*sic*) are as true as Heracles' visit to South India.¹⁰⁸ R. C. Majumdar considers the statements, referred to by Phlegon and Arrian, as altogether unnatural and absurd.¹⁰⁹ Altekar also observes that the data supplied by the Greek authors do not show that girls were married before they were grown up. In this connection, Kane, points out that most of the Gr̥hyasūtras speak of a rite called *caturthi-karman* (rite on the fourth day after marriage), which corresponds to *garbh-ādhāna* of later writers, and remarks¹¹⁰ that 'as cohabitation is expressly mentioned in connection with this rite performed on the fourth day after marriage, it follows that girls must have generally been quite grown up at the time of marriage.' He is of the opinion¹¹¹ that till 'about the beginning of the Christian era, it did not matter at all if a girl was married a few months or few years after puberty', and, according to Altekar, 'there was a conflict of opinion in society during the period 400 B. C.-100 A. D. about the desirability of

108 *Op. cit.*, p. 55.

109 Majumdar, *Class. Ac. Ind.*, p. xxiv.

110 *Op. cit.*, pp. 441-42.

111 *Ibid.*, pp. 443.

pre-puberty marriages.¹¹² The contentions of these scholars are, however, based on the Dharmaśāstras of Gautama, Baudhāyana and Vasiṣṭha. Though Gautama prefers pre-puberty marriage, he prescribes that 'a marriageable girl should allow three monthly periods to pass and afterwards unite herself to a blameless man of her own will.'¹¹³ Baudhāyana¹¹⁴ and Vasiṣṭha¹¹⁵ recommend that a girl may be kept unmarried for a period of three years after she attains puberty if there is any difficulty in settling her marriage. In this connection, Kane also draws our attention to a passage of the *Mahābhārata*¹¹⁶ which is to the same effect. Reference is also made to Manu¹¹⁷ who lays down that 'a maiden after attaining her puberty may wait for three years (to see if she is given away by her father or brother, etc.) ; but after this period, she should seek a husband who is similar to her.' Manu also goes to the extent of allowing the father to keep the daughter unmarried even to the end of her life, if no suitable husband is available.¹¹⁸ It has, however, been pointed out by Kane¹¹⁹ that Gautama¹²⁰ also describes a man as committing a sin if he neglects to give his daughter in marriage before she attains puberty, and further that Baudhāyana¹²¹ and Vasiṣṭha¹²² add that the father or guardian incurs the sin of destroying an embryo at each appearance of menses as long as the girl remains unmarried after puberty. The *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, which was

112 *Op. cit.*, p. 55.

113 XVII. 20-23.

114 IV. 1. 14.

115 XVII. 67-68.

116 XIII. 44. 16.

117 IX. 90.

118 X. 89.

119 *Op. cit.*, p. 442.

120 *Loc. cit.*

121 IV. 1. 12,

122 XVII. 70-71.

composed about 200 A.D. according to Kane and Altekar, also prescribes the same,¹²³ but never says a word allowing one to keep a girl unmarried after the attainment of her puberty. Both Kane¹²⁴ and Altekar,¹²⁵ therefore, think that from about 200 A.D. 'popular feeling had become insistent on pre-puberty marriages' and in their support they refer to Vaikhānasa,¹²⁶ Parāśara,¹²⁷ Saṁvarta,¹²⁸ Yama,¹²⁹ Vyāsa,¹³⁰ Śaṅkha¹³¹ and many other law-givers,¹³² all of whom are well known advocates of pre-puberty marriage. As Altekar points out, it was not possible always to give away girls just on the eve of their attaining puberty. "If it was postponed to the last moment, there was the danger of crossing the fateful line." Therefore, some of the said Smṛti writers followed by commentators were not satisfied only by forbidding post-puberty marriages but started encouraging marriage of Brāhmana girls well ahead of puberty. Thus, Parāśara states that, if a man 'does not give away a maiden when she has reached her twelfth year, his *pitṛs* have to drink every month her menstrual discharge. The parents and also the eldest brother go to hell on seeing [an unmarried] girl reaching the stage of *rajasvalā*.¹³³ He

123 I. 64 ; Nārada *Śrīpuraṇḍī*, verses 25-27) also has the same rule.

124 *Op cit.*, p. 443.

125 *Op cit.*, p. 56.

126 VI. 12.

127 II 6-9.

128 Vv. 65-66 these two verses are the same as Parāśara, VII. 6, 8.

129 Quoted in the *Smṛticandrikā*, Vol. I, pp. 73, 81 ; cf. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 444, note 1056.

130 II 7

131 XV. 8.

132 f. Kane, *op cit.*, pp. 444-45 and notes ; also Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-59 and notes, and Sharma, *Soc. L. N. Ind.*, p. 15 and note 1.

133 Vaikhānasa (V . 12), who lays down that a Brāhmana should marry a Brāhmana girl who is a *nagnikā* or *gaurī*, 'defines *nagnikā* as a girl of over eight years but less than ten and *gaurī* as one who is between ten and twelve and has not had menstruation'. According to Parāśara, a girl is called *gaurī*

also states that a Brāhmaṇa marrying such a girl should not be conversed with or admitted to dinner in the same row in which other Brāhmaṇas dine and that he becomes the husband of a *vr̥ṣālī*. According to Yama, a girl should be given away in marriage before she comes of age even to a man who is devoid of merit (*guṇahīna*). It would thus appear that, while Manu allowed a girl to remain unmarried throughout her life if no suitable husband was found for her, Yama, in strict adherence to the rule of pre-puberty marriage, bothers little in attaching a girl, for her whole life, with a man unworthy and unsuitable. Saṁvarta highly commends the marriage of a girl of eight years old.¹³⁴ Medhātithi also states that the right time for a girl to be given in marriage is eight.¹³⁵ Further, since marriage came to be looked upon as *upanayana* in the case of women, naturally 'the age for *upanayana* (eighth year) came to be looked upon as the proper age for marriage'.¹³⁶ Kane observes that 'the rule that Brāhmaṇa girls were to be married between 8 to 10 years became general from about the sixth or seventh century and continued down to modern times',¹³⁷ though it may be pointed out that, in later times, a section of the advocates of pre-puberty marriage is found to clamour for a still lower age for the marriage of Brāhmaṇa girls.¹³⁸

when she is eight, *rohiṇī* when nine, *kanyā* when ten and *rajasyalā* beyond ten. Kāśyapa, however, describes a girl of seven as *gaurī*, a girl of ten as *kanyakā* and a girl of twelve as *kumārī* (cf. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 445).

134 V. 67.

135 On Manu, IX. 4.

136 Cf. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 443 and note 1052; Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

137 Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 445; cf. Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-63.

138 Cf. Marīcī (quoted in the *Parāśara-Mādhaviya*) states that choosing a bride of five years old is the best, and, according to a passage of the *Brahma Purāṇa*, a girl should be married at any time after the age of four. The rule prescribed by Manu that a girl may be kept unmarried if no suitable husband was secured, referred to above, was explained away as emphasising the importance of a proper selection of the bridegroom and not as permitting post-puberty marriage (*Parāśara-Mādhaviya*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 78).

The rule laid down by Parāśara¹³⁹ and others¹⁴⁰ that a Brāhmaṇa girl should not remain unmarried when she reaches her twelfth year seems to have gained considerable footing and continued to influence the society for a few centuries. This is suggested by the fact that, in the first part of the eleventh century, Al Birūnī also noticed that a Brāhmaṇa was forbidden to marry a girl above twelve years old.¹⁴¹ Al Birūnī also says that, if a Brāhmaṇa wanted to cohabit with a wife to get a child, it was his duty to perform a sacrifice to the fire called *grabh-ādhāna*; but as the sacrifice required the presence of the woman, he felt ashamed to do so and postponed it and united it with the next following one, which was due in the fourth month of the pregnancy, called *śimantonnayana*.¹⁴²

It is of interest to note that the evidence of Al Birūnī like those of Vaikhānasa, Parāśara and others reveals that the rules relating to the proper age of girls affected only the Brāhmaṇas. Vaikhānasa recommends a Brāhmaṇa bride to be a *nagnikā* or *gaurī* at the time of marriage, but prescribes no such qualification for a Kṣatriya or Vaiśya bride.¹⁴³ That as late as the seventeenth century the rule of marrying a girl before puberty was not directed towards persons other than the Brāhmaṇas is suggested by a statement of the *Viramitrodaya* which lays down that there is no prohibition against marrying a girl who has passed the age of puberty for Kṣatriyas and others.¹⁴⁴ Altekar attempts to underline the reasons why 'in spite of the universal and terrible condemnation of post-puberty marriage by the

139 *Loc. cit.*

140 As Kane (*op. cit.*, p. 445) points out, the same four verses (Parāśara, VII. 6-9) are also found in Brhad-Yama, Chap. III. 19-22; but the order is different, and Aṅgiras, 126-28, has the same verses.

141 Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 131.

142 *Ibid.*, p. 156. For *śimantonnayana*, see Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 222-26.

143 VI. 12.

144 *Saṃskāraprakāśa*, p. 771.

Smṛti writers from c. 200 A.D., child marriages did not come to vogue among the Kṣatriyas for a long time'. According to him, 'life was more ephemeral in the case of the members of the fighting classes than it was with the rest of the community ; they naturally refused to follow the new custom which would have enormously increased the number of child-widows in their community.¹⁴⁵ He further opines that 'post-puberty marriages were in vogue in Kṣatriya circles down to the middle ages, and hence *svayamvara* custom survived there till the twelfth century A.D.'¹⁴⁶ Attention is, however, sometimes drawn to the Aranya-kāṇḍa passage of the *Rāmāyaṇa*¹⁴⁷ referring to Sitā's age as six when she was married, and it is argued that instances of child-marriage among the Kṣatriyas are not lacking. Altekar¹⁴⁸ and Kane,¹⁴⁹ however, consider the passage as a later interpolation as the Bāla-kāṇḍa of the same work clearly states that Sitā and her sisters enjoyed in private dalliance with their respective husbands immediately after marriage.¹⁵⁰ If the evidence of the Bālakāṇḍa is to be relied on, then Sitā cannot be taken to have been six years old at the time of her marriage. Moreover, the epics contain numerous references to girls like Kuntī, Draupadī, Sāvitrī, Damayantī, Rukmiṇī, etc., who were sufficiently grown up at the time of the marriage of each of them. Bhavabhūti in his *Uttarāmacarita*¹⁵¹ represents Sitā as a child at the time of her marriage. According to Altekar, Bhavabhūti 'was influenced by the practice of his age, rather than by the evidence of any earlier and genuine tradition'.¹⁵²

145 *Op. cit.*, p. 58.

146 *Ibid.*, p. 66. For *svayamvara*, see below.

147 III. 47. 10-11.

148 *Op. cit.*, p. 53.

149 *Op. cit.*, p. 445.

150 *Rāmāyaṇa*, I. 77. 16-17 (in three volumes with Govindarāja's commentary) as cited by Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 445, note 1058.

151 Ed. G. V. Bhattacharyya, Calcutta, Act I, v. 20.

152 *Op. cit.*, p. 53.

It may be pointed out here that even Bhavabhūti himself 'imagines that Mālātī, the heroine of his romantic drama *Mālātīmādhava*, was grown up so that it was practically a case of love at first sight'.¹⁵³ The heroines¹⁵⁴ including Śakuntalā, Rājyaśrī, Kādambarī, Mahāśvetā, Durlabhadevī, Lakṣmī, Kalāvati, etc., of Sanskrit poems and dramas, which mostly deal with the life in royal and aristocratic families, were quite grown up at the time of marriage.

The above discussion no doubt tends to show that the rule of marrying a girl before she attains puberty was not meant for persons other than the Brāhmaṇas. It is, however, interesting to note that while making his observations on matrimony, menstrual courses, etc., Al Bīrūnī states that 'the Hindus marry at a very young age ; therefore the parents arrange the marriage of their sons'.¹⁵⁵ If Al Bīrūnī's information is true, then it requires to be said that, at least in some parts of India, all the Hindus and not simply the Brāhmaṇas married 'at a very young age'. The expression 'young age' used by Al Bīrūnī, however, is equally vague as the expression 'immature age' of Diodorus, quoted above ; and helps little to suggest that the non-Brāhmaṇas also married girls before puberty or before twelve years of age like the Brāhmaṇas. But, at the same time it should be noted that, as the parents arranged the marriage of the Hindu son, probably the latter was not sufficiently grown up at the time of his marriage. The statement that marriage of a Hindu son was arranged by the parents deserves further consideration. For, it may be taken to indicate at least that marriage by mutual consent and not by the judgement of the parents, referred to by the Greeks, was no longer probably

153 Cf. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 446.

154 Durlabhadevī and Lakṣmī are mentioned in the *Dvyāśrayamahākāvya* of Hemacandra and Kalāvati's name occurs in the *Pṛthivīrājaviṇaya* of Jayānaka.

155 Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 154.

very frequent. One of the reasons for such a change might have been the considerable lowering down of the marriageable age of the girl, and the other the disastrous results of marriages arranged by the parties themselves, some light on which has been thrown by Diodorus, as we have already seen.

9. *Dowry*. Arrian states that the Indians marry without either giving or taking dowries,¹⁵⁶ and many centuries later Al Birūnī records that no gift was settled between the parents of the bride and the bridegroom and that only the husband gave a present of his choice to his wife, and also a marriage gift in advance, which he had no right to claim back, though the wife might return it to him of her own will.¹⁵⁷ From these statements it appears that the dowry system in the sense of something already promised was probably not very common, although references to the gift of large sums of money and valuable presents along with the daughter are noticed in our literary and epigraphic records.¹⁵⁸ The Jātaka stories also record the presentation of precious gifts to the bridegroom by rich merchants like the father of Viśākhā at the time when the bride proceeded to her husband's house. Rich presents of horses, elephants and jewels were given to Draupadī, Subhadrā and Uttarā at the time of their departure from their parents' house after their marriage. Kālidāsa says that handsome presents were sent by the king of Vidarbha with his sister at the time of her departure with her husband after her marriage.¹⁵⁹ Horses, elephants, ornaments, costly costumes, etc., were also given with Rājyaśrī by her father Prabhākaravardhana as we know from the *Harṣacarita*.¹⁶⁰

156 McCrindle, *op. cit.*, p. 277; Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

157 Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 154.

158 Cf. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 70; Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 12. We, however, refer to only a few cases, as multiplication of instances does not seem to be necessary.

159 *Raghuvamśa*, VII. 32.

160 Chap. IV,

In the *Samarāīccakahā*, the description of a bride shows that she was fully decorated with costly costumes and ornaments before marriage and carried all of them to her husband's house after marriage.¹⁶¹ Since these presents were made voluntarily and there was no pre-nuptial contract in this respect, they can hardly be called dowry, and Altekar remarks that if the dowry, i.e. 'a pre-nuptial contract of payment made by the bride's father with the bridegroom or his guardian', had prevailed to its present extent, it would have been very vehemently condemned by Smṛti writers like the similar custom of bride-price.¹⁶²

10. *Marriage Rites and Ceremonies.* In his account of the origin of the name of the city of Pāṭaliputra, Hiuen-tsang describes¹⁶³ a mock marriage in which a *pātali* tree was taken to represent the bride and a young man was the bridegroom. It is stated that two couples were also chosen to stand as the parents of the bride and bridegroom respectively. 'All the ceremonies were gone through, and the man acting as the father of the bride broke off a branch of the *pātali* tree and gave it to the bridegroom to be his bride'. Hiuen-tsang's description of the mock marriage reveals two very important facts, viz. (1) that a bride required to be given away by somebody, and (2) that certain ceremonies ought to be performed. Al Bīrūnī also lays down that, on the occasion of the marriage of the Hindus, the Brāhmanas perform the rites of sacrifices.¹⁶⁴

That these foreign observers were reproducing the actual state of affairs is apparent from the fact that, in describing the ceremonies and rituals connected with *vivāha*, all the texts concerned refer the bride as being given away (*dāna*) by the

161 Ed. Jacobi, Calcutta, 1926, Vol. II, pp. 93-101; cf. also Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 12 and note 7.

162 *Loc. cit.*

163 Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 87

164 Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 154,

father or her guardian in the family and to the observation of certain rites¹⁶⁵ which, however, varied with the peoples of different regions and villages, as underlined even in such an early text as the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra*.¹⁶⁶ There are three parts, viz. preliminary, central or essential and the subsequent, in the observance of the wedding rites. The essential rites are *pāṇi-grahaṇa*, *vivāha-homa*, *agni parikramaṇa* and *saptapadī*, and they are mentioned by all the Sūtrakāras although they differ with regard to the order in which they should be performed. Thus, while the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra*¹⁶⁷ describes going round the fire before *saptapadī*, the *Āpastamba Gṛhyasūtra*¹⁶⁸ describes *saptapadī* before the act of going round the fire. The *Gobhila*,¹⁶⁹ *Khādīra*¹⁷⁰ and *Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtras*¹⁷¹ describe *pāṇi grahaṇa* after *saptapadī* while many other Sūtrakāras describe it before *saptapadī*. Moreover, certain rites, e.g., *madhuparka* (mentioned in the *Āpastamba*,¹⁷² *Baudhāyana*¹⁷³ and *Mānava Gṛhyasūtras*)¹⁷⁴ and *kanyā-dāna* (mentioned in the *Pāraskara*¹⁷⁵ and *Mānava Gṛhyasūtras*)¹⁷⁶ are not mentioned in the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra*. According to Kane, *Āśvalāyana* 'probably omitted express mention of *kanyā-dāna*, because, in defining the first four forms, he uses the word *dadyāt* while in

165 Cf. Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 526-38 ; Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-83 ; Prabhu, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-73. Some of these rites are still observed in a Hindu marriage.

166 I. 7. 1-2.

167 I. 7. 7.

168 IV. 16 and V. 1.

169 II. 2. 16.

170 I. 3. 31.

171 I. 4. 10.

172 III. 8.

173 I. 2. 1.

174 I. 9.

175 I. 4.

176 I. 8. 6-9.

the last four there is no *kanyā-dāna* and Āśvalāyana wanted to describe ceremonies that were common to all forms'.¹⁷⁷

11. *Forms of Marriage*.¹⁷⁸ It has been seen above that Strabo while referring to certain customs of the Cathæans refers to the groom and the bride choosing each other. This kind of marriage was known as *gāndharva*. As the *Taittirīya Śaṁhitā*¹⁷⁹ and *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*¹⁸⁰ state, the *gāndharva* form of marriage was known as such because it is prompted by mutual love and the Gandharvas were known to be libidinous. In this form of marriage, the principal object was gratification of carnal desires and so sacred rituals did not precede the union. The *gāndharva* form of marriage was quite common in royal families. Kālidāsa refers to this form in his *Śakuntalā*.¹⁸¹ A passage in the *Mahābhārata*, however, represents Śakuntalā as calling a priest for performing religious rites before proceeding to consummate her marriage.¹⁸² But, the passage is believed to be a later interpolation as it contradicts the definition of the *gāndharva* marriage given in the epic itself.¹⁸³ As Altekar points out, 'when Kaṇva proceeds to express his approval, to his daughter, of her love marriage, he incidentally defines the *gāndharva* marriage as a love union brought about without any recitation of the *mantras*.' The *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* appears to

177 *Op. cit.*, p. 531. For different matters connected with the *vivāha-samskāra*, see Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 531-37.

178 The forms of marriage generally enlisted are monogamy, polygamy, polyandry and group marriage (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, 14th ed., Vol. XIV, 1929, p. 949). But in discussing the Hindu *vivāha*, the expression 'form of marriage' is used 'to denote the method of consecrating a marriage union' Prabhu, *op. cit.*, 4th ed., 1963, p. 151).

179 VI. 1. 6. 5 (*stri-kāmā vai Gandharvāḥ*).

180 V. 1.

181 Act III.

182 I. 94. 38.

183 Cf. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

approve the *gāndharva* marriage when it refers to the view of certain authorities that love unions ought to be commended, as they presuppose reciprocal attachment.¹⁸⁴ According to Manu and Nārada, this form of marriage can be resorted to by the people of all *varṇas*,¹⁸⁵ and, as Kane¹⁸⁶ draws our attention, the *Kāmasūtra* first regards¹⁸⁷ the *brāhma* form of marriage as the best (following the opinion of writers of the *Dharmasāstras*) and then, 'true to its own particular subject, gives its own opinion that *gāndharva* is the best'.¹⁸⁸ In his *Priyadarśikā*, the legality of the *gāndharva* marriage has been recognised by Harṣa.¹⁸⁹ Devala, quoted by Kullūka, however, lays down that, even in a *gāndharva* marriage, the rituals should be performed after the union, and the possible objection that the marriage *mantras* refer to a *kanyā* or a virgin and so could not be recited in such a case has been explained away by stating that the term *kanyā* should be taken in a general sense denoting a bride and not necessarily a virgin.¹⁹⁰ According to Altekar, 'the subsequent formal celebration of the marriage served the purpose of its proper announcement to society ; it also gave an opportunity to relations and friends to share its joy'.¹⁹¹

Strabo further says that, among certain Indian tribes, according to Nearchus, 'the virgins are set before all as a prize for the man who wins the victory in a fist-fight'.¹⁹² Arrian also records a similar statement of Nearchus.¹⁹³ Thus, it is stated that

184 I. 11. 13.

185 III. 25 ; cf. Nārada, *Śrīpūṣa*, verse 40.

186 *Op. cit.*, p. 522.

187 III. 5. 28.

188 III. 5. 2-30.

189 Madras, 1935, Act III, p. 66.

190 Cf. Kullūka's commentary on Manu, VIII. 226.

191 *Op. cit.*, p. 43.

192 Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

193 McCrindle, *op. cit.*, p. 227 ; Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

'women as soon as they are marriageable, are brought forward by their fathers and exposed in public, to be selected by the victor in wrestling or boxing or running, or by some one who excels in any other manly exercise.' According to R. C. Majumdar, Nearchus probably referred to a modified form of *svayamvara*.¹⁹⁴ The *svayamvara* marriage, mention of which is found even in the hymns of the *Rgveda*,¹⁹⁵ is regarded as the ninth form of marriage by L. Sternbach.¹⁹³ The *svayamvara* marriages were of two types, viz.

194 *A. Imp. Un.*, ed. Majumdar, p. 560.

195 *Rgveda*, I. 116.17 ; I. 119.5 ; X. 85.14 ; B.S. Upadhyay, *Women in the Rgveda*, Benares, 1941, p. 70 ; E. W. Hopkins in *JAOS*, Vol. XIII, 1888, pp. 168ff., 357ff. ; Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 523-24 ; Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-66 and notes:

196 *Juridical Studies in Ancient Indian Law*, Part I, Delhi, 1965, pp. 383-87; cf. H. N. Chatterji, 'A Critical Study of Svayamvara Form of Marriage', *Calcutta Review*, June, 1957, pp. 281-88 ; cf. also A. K. Chakravarti's paper 'Forms of Marriage in Ancient India', *JAIH*, Vol. V, pp. 226-35. Out of the usual eight forms of marriage, we have discussed *gāndharva* and we shall have occasion below to refer to the *ārṣa* and *āsura*. The *brāhma* form consists of the giving away of the daughter, after decking her with ornaments, to one who is well versed in the *śruti*s and of good conduct whom the bride's father himself invites, while in the *daiva* a girl decked with ornaments is given to a priest officiating in a sacrifice, during the course of its performance. In the *prājāpatya* form, the father makes a gift of the daughter, by addressing the couple with the words, "May both of you perform your religious duties together," and honours the bridegroom with *madhuparka*, etc. The *rākṣasa* form constitutes of the forcible abduction of a maiden from her home, while she cries and weeps, 'after her kinsmen have been slain or wounded and their houses broken' and the *paśāṇa* results from the rape of a girl when she is asleep, intoxicated or unconscious. Recently D. C. Sircar (cf. 'The Ten Forms of Marriage', *Indian Museum Bulletin*, Vol. V, No. 1, pp. 7-9 : cf. also *JAIH*, Vol. IV, 1971, p. 306) has drawn our attention to the *Skanda Purāṇa*, Nāgara-khaṇḍa, Chapter 241, verses 33-36, which enumerates the kinds of marriages as no less than ten, the two new names being *prātibha* and *ghātana*. According to Sircar, these two forms were in vogue among the lower classes of people in Gujarat where the Nāgara-khaṇḍa section of the *Skanda Purāṇa* appears to have been composed. As Kane (*op. cit.*,

ordinary and festive, the first one occurring at the failure of the father or the lawful guardians to give away the girl after she had passed three monthly periods according to Gautama¹⁹⁷ and Viṣṇu¹⁹⁸ and three years from the attainment of puberty according to Vasiṣṭha, Baudhāyana and Manu.¹⁹⁹ Since the ordinary *svayamvara* 'arose out of negligence of the father or guardians, the authors of the ancient Indian legal texts, all staunch protagonists of the patriarchal form of society, were reluctant to concede it the status of a distinct form of marriage'.²⁰⁰ The festive *svayamvaras* were of three types. The first type occurred when girls wandered about at will to find her suitable husband. Sāvitrī's *svayamvara* is an illustration of this festive *svāyamvara* which was applicable to girls of all castes according to Kane.²⁰¹ The second, the *vīrya-sulkā* type, was that in which the girl was won by the performance of some special heroic skill. The Greek description probably refers to this type which is well illustrated by the *svayamvaras* of Draupadī and Sītā: The third type involved the real choice of the husband by the bride from among the members of a vast and splendid assembly of royal suitors. The *svayamvaras* of Damayantī and Indumatī illustrate the type.

p. 525) points out, 'the forms of marriage have their roots deep down in the Vedic literature', the *brāhma* form being given expression in the *Rgveda*, X. 85, the *āsura* form (by payment of money) being referred to *ibid.*, I. 109.2 and the *Nirukta*, VI. 9; the *gāndharva* and *svayamvara* being indicated by the *Rgveda*, X. 27.12 and 1. 119. 5. The story of Śyāvāśva narrated in the *Bṛhaddevatā* (V. 50) in connection with the *Rgveda*, V. 61, makes an approach to the *daiva* form. [If *svayamvara* was regarded as the ninth form of marriage, the authorities would not have spoken only of its eight forms.—Ed.]

197 XVIII. 20.

198 25. 40-41.

199 Vasiṣṭha, XVII. 67-68; Manu, IX. 90; Baudhāyana, IV. 1. 13. The *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti* (I. 64) allows *svayamvara* to a girl who has no parents or guardians to find out a worthy husband for her.

200 *JAIH*, Vol. V, p. 227.

201 *Op. cit.*, p. 523.

Vātsyāyana describes a very peculiar type of *svayaṃvara*.²⁰² It differs from the usual *gāndharva* form in this that consummation takes place here before the union is announced or solemnised before fire and from the *paśāca* form as it is done with the consent of the bride.

It is clearly stated in the *Mahābhārata* that even after *svayaṃvara* religious rites had to be performed,²⁰³ and Kālidāsa has described how after the *svayaṃvara* of Indumatī the principal religious rites of *madhuparka*, *homa*, going round the fire and *pāṇi-grahaṇa* took place.²⁰⁴ Some doubt is expressed as regards whether the festive *svayaṃvara* deserves to be called an independent form of marriage as, in it, the girl's choice was restricted to a great extent and the whole show was dominated by the father.²⁰⁵ Essentially, it becomes a variety of the *brāhma* or *prājāpatya*. Further, when the girl was allowed to choose her husband, it partook the nature of *gāndharva*. In fact, the *Viramitrodaya* states that the *svayaṃvara*, which is frequently mentioned in the Dharmaśāstras, is practically the same as *gāndharva*.

It is also recorded by Strabo that according to Megasthenes the Indians married many wives whom they purchased from their parents in exchange for a yoke of oxen.²⁰⁶ Megasthenes, therefore, refers here to the *ārṣa* form of marriage. The description of 'a yoke of oxen' as the price with which an Indian purchased his wife, however, demands some consideration. According to some authorities on law, the gift of a pair of cow

202 *Kāmasūtra*, II. 4. 36. This *svayaṃvara* is just the same as *gāndharva*.—Ed.]

203 I. 195. 7.

204 Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 521. But in the case of Kālidāsa's *Śakuntalā*, there was no performance of religious rites. Such rites were therefore not essential for the *gāndharva* marriage. They were performed at a later date only when some guardians wanted them.

205 JAIH, Vol. V, p. 227.

206 McCrindle, *op. cit.*, p. 69; Majumdar, *Class. Ac. Ind.*, p. 270; *A. Imp. Un.*, p. 559; Puri, *Ind. E. Gr. Writ.*, p. 86.

and bull or two pairs of these was nothing less than a bride-price, and they regard *ārṣa* as a variety of the *āsura* marriage.²⁰⁷ But Smṛti writers including Manu²⁰⁸ opine that the gift of a pair of cow and bull or two pairs of these by the bridegroom to the father of the bride was made as a matter of fulfilling the law, (*dharmataḥ*), and not as a price for selling the girl (*na tu śulka-buddhyā*), as Kullūka²⁰⁹ clearly states. The *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* of Jaimini states that the gift given by the son-in-law, being for religious purposes, could not be regarded as bride-price.²¹⁰ According to Śābara, prices of commodities vary in the market according to quality, but, in the *ārṣa* marriage, all sons-in-law offered the same gift to their fathers-in-law, and so it cannot be called bride-price.²¹¹ Mitramiśra refutes Śābara's argument by pointing out that the price that was paid for the Soma plant was fixed ; but he defends *ārṣa* marriage by 'arguing that the gift made by the son-in-law to the father-in-law was not for making any profit (*lobha-nimittaḥ*) but for religious purposes (*dharma-nimittaḥ*).²¹² As P. H. Prabhu points out, the gift of cow and bull was to be made as a token of gratitude to the man who offered his daughter to the groom to enable him to fulfil his *gṛhasth-āśrama* obligations.²¹³ However, the testimony of Megasthenes proves the popularity of the *ārṣa* marriage in the fourth century B. C.

Further, as it is known from Strabo, Aristobolus, while referring to some customs current at Takṣaśilā, observes that 'those who by reason of poverty are unable to marry off their daughters, lead them forth to the market-place in the flower

207 Cf. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

208 III. 29, 53.

209 On Manu, III. 29.

210 VI. 15.

211 On the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā*, VI. 15.

212 *Saṃskāraprakāśa*, p. 850.

213 *Op. cit.*, pp. 151-52.

of their age to the sound of both trumpets and drums (precisely the instruments used to signal the call to battle), thus assembling a crowd ; and to any man who comes forward they first expose her rear parts upto the shoulder and then the front parts, and if she pleases him, and at the same time allows herself to be persuaded on approved terms, he marries her.²¹⁴ This statement is believed to refer to the *āsura* form of marriage.²¹⁵ According to the Dharmaśāstra writers, a marriage is called *āsura* when the bridegroom receives a maiden after having given as much wealth as he can afford to her kinsmen and to the bride herself.²¹⁶ The origin of the name is not known with certainty, and Altekar thinks that 'marriage by purchase, was the order of the day among ancient Assyrians, and this circumstance may have been responsible for the name *āsura* given to that form of marriage where a bride-price was paid'.²¹⁷ References to the *āsura* form of marriage have, however, been traced in the Vedic literature.²¹⁸ The *Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra*²¹⁹ quotes two passages of the *Maitrāyaṇīya Saṁhitā*²²⁰ in support of the *mānuṣa* (i.e. *āsura*) form of marriage one of which states that 'she indeed commits falsehood (or sin), who being purchased by her husband, roams about with other males.' Yāska's *Nirukta*²²¹ while explaining a passage of the *R̥gveda*²²² states that the word '*vijāmātā* means, among the Southerners, the husband of a woman who is purchased'. Instances of the acceptance of the bride-price by the guardians

214, *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 372 ; Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

215 Chattopadhyay, *Soc. L. Anc. Ind.*, p. 63 ; Puri, *loc. cit.*

216 Cf. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 517 ; *A. Imp. Un.*, ed. Majumdar, p. 559 ; Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

217 *Op. cit.*, p. 39.

218 Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 503-04,

219 I. 36-37.

220 I. 10. 11.

221 VI. 9.

222 I. 109. 2,

of the bride are recorded in the epics and the Buddhist literature.²²³ The payment of heavy bride-price made to the guardians of Kaikeyī, Mādrī and Gāndhārī at the time of their marriage is known from the epics, while the father of Isidāsī, a nun of the *Therīgāthā*, is said to have received a bride-price for her at the time of her marriage. It should, however, be pointed out that although the custom continued to prevail in certain sections of the society, it was severely condemned by the law-givers like Āpastamba,²²⁴ Baudhāyana,²²⁵ Manu,²²⁶ Yājñavalkya,²²⁷ Yama,²²⁸ etc. The sixty-four *ācāras* laid down by Śaṅkara²²⁹ also included the prohibition of the sale of girls. The *Padma Purāṇa* states that the face of one, who has sold his daughter in marriage, should not be seen.²³⁰ An inscription²³¹ from Paḍaiviḍu records an agreement signed by the representatives of Karnāṭa, Tamil, Telugu and Lāṭa Brāhmaṇas that they would excommunicate anyone who would accept bride-price. The Peshwas²³² issued orders forbidding the Brāhmaṇas of Wai to accept money for giving their daughters

223 Cf. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

224 II. 6. 13. 10-11.

225 I. 11. 20-21. It is stated that 'a woman who is purchased with wealth is not declared to be a legally wedded wife (*patnī*); she is not [to be associated with the husband] in rites for the gods or manes and Kaśyapa declares that she is a *dāsī* (slave girl). Those, who blinded by-greed, give their daughters in marriage for a fee (*śulka*), are sinners, sellers of their own selves and perpetrators of great sin and they fall into hell.' In another place, Baudhāyana (II. 1. 79) states, 'he who gives his daughter [in marriage] by sale [as a chattel] sells his merit (*puṇya*).'

226 III. 41, 54-54; IX. 98; XI. 61.

227 III. 236.

228 Quoted in the *Mahabharata*, XIII. 45, 18-19. Cf. also 93, 133 and 94. 3.

229 Cf. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 506.

230 Brahma-khaṇḍa, 24, 26.

231 *SII*, Vol. I, No. 56. [For 'accept', read 'accept of pay'.—Ed.]

232 Cf. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 506.

in marriage. But, although the leaders of society condemned it in very strong terms and attempts were made to stop this social evil by prescribing fines, the custom continued in the society, and as is apparent from Aristobolous, poverty definitely played a significant part in its persistence.

As is also known from Strabo, Megasthenes referred to a peculiar custom of the inhabitants of the Caucasus. They are said to have intercourse with women in the open.²³³ It is difficult to be certain whether any form of marriage is attempted to be described by the Greek ambassador, and R. C. Majumdar considers the statement to be altogether unnatural and absurd.²³⁴

12. *Remarriage of Women.* Interesting light is thrown on the remarriage of women by Hiuen-tsang²³⁵ and Al Bīrūnī.²³⁶ Thus, while the former states that 'a woman never contracts a second marriage', according to the latter if 'a wife loses her husband by death, she cannot marry another man'. Al Bīrūnī also says that a woman had to choose between two things after the death of her husband. Either she had to remain a widow till her death or she had to burn herself, and it is also stated that the latter eventuality was considered preferable because, as a widow, she was ill-treated as long as she lived.

The authors of the scriptures used by both Hiuen-tsang and Al Bīrūnī seem to belong to the school of Manu and others. Manu clearly lays down that a second husband is nowhere prescribed for a virtuous woman,²³⁷ although we find that some authorities allow remarriage of a woman even when the death of her husband was only presumed and not proved. Thus, Vasiṣṭha states that 'a wife of the Brāhmana caste, who

233 McCrindle, *op. cit.*, p. 71 ; Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

234 Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. xxiv. [It is probably not absurd.—Ed.]

235 Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 168.

236 Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 155.

237 V. 162.

has issue, shall wait for five years and one who has no issue, for four years ; the wife of a Kṣatriya, who has issue, for five years and one who has no issue, for three years ; the wife of the Vaiśya caste who has issue, for four years and without issue, for two years ; the wife of a Śūdra, who has issue, for three years and who has none, for one year.'²³⁸ Kauṭilya, however, reduces the period of waiting to a few months only, and allows even a woman married by regular rites to marry again the full brother of her husband. He lays down that 'if there be many brothers she should marry one who is near in age [to the first husband], who is virtuous, capable of maintaining her or who is the youngest or unmarried', and 'if no such brother exists, she may marry a *sapinda* of the husband or one of the same caste.'²³⁹ The story of Damayantī narrated in the *Mahābhārata*²⁴⁰ suggests that when the husband was not heard of for many years, a wife could marry again. Damayantī is stated to have sent a message to Rtuparna to the direction that, as Nala was not heard of for many years, Damayantī was going to celebrate a *svayamvara*, and Rtuparna hurries for it and does not think it a strange thing. In one place, however, Manu himself lays down that the remarriage *saṃskāra* is allowed to a girl whose first marriage has not been consummated or who left the husband of her youth, went to live with another and returned to the first husband.²⁴¹ In declaring this, Manu perhaps only reiterates the popular usage which was too much to be ignored. According to Nārada, another husband is ordained for women in five calamities, viz. when the husband

238 XVII. 67-71.

239 *Arthaśāstra*, III. 4. Manu (IX. 76) also speaks of the periods that a wife should wait for her husband when he stays abroad for various reasons ; but he does not state what the wife should do after these years of waiting.

240 III. 70. 24.

241 IX. 176.

is lost (unheard of), is dead, has become a *sannyāsin*, is impotent or is *patita*.²⁴² The *Parāśarasmṛiti*²⁴³ and *Agni Purāṇa*²⁴⁴ have the same verse, the interpretation of which has given rise to a great deal of controversy. According to the *Parāśara-Mādhaviya*, the verse speaks of the state of society in another *yuga* (age) and has no application to the Kali age,²⁴⁵ and Medhātithi takes the term *patī* to mean only *pālaka* (guardian).²⁴⁶ The latter is opposed to the remarriage of widows. As Altekar points out,²⁴⁷ the same is the view expressed in the *Laghu-Āśvalāyana*, and according to the *Āditya Purāṇa*, widow remarriage is not to be performed in the Kali age.

Remarriage of child-widows was, however, permitted by certain law-givers. Thus, it is stated by Vasiṣṭha that, if merely the marriage ritual is performed and the marriage itself is not consummated, the girl should be married again.²⁴⁸ Baudhāyana holds the same view,²⁴⁹ and according to the *Laghuśātātapa*,²⁵⁰ such a girl is really a virgin and should marry again as a matter of course. In one place of the *Mahābhārata*, it is declared that no derogation would attach to a child-widow if

242 Nārada, *Strīpūṇḍa*, verse 97. Nārada lays down that 'if the husband has gone to a foreign country, a Brāhmaṇa wife should wait for eight years, but four years if she has not given birth to a child; after that period of [8 or 4 years], she may resort to another man' (*ibid.*, verses 98-101). A lesser number of years of waiting is prescribed for Kṣatriya and Vaiśya wives. If the husband is known to be living, then the periods are double of those stated above; this is the view of Prajāpati when no news can be had of persons and hence there is no sin if a woman resorts to another man 'in such cases' (cf. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 613).

243 IV. 30.

244 154. 5-6,

245 Vol. II, Part I, p. 53.

246 On Manu, V. 157.

247 *Op. cit.*, p. 155.

248 XVII. 66.

249 II. 2. 4, 7.

250 Cf. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

she married again and that her sons would be fully entitled to offer oblations to both gods and manes.²⁵¹ But, later remarriage of child-widow also was prohibited and the information of foreign observers, noted above, gains additional significance when we find that expressions like *bāla-raṇḍā* and *bāla-vidhavā* suggesting a child-widow keeping the vow of celibacy for the rest of her long life occur in texts of the tenth century like the *Karpūramañjarī*.²⁵² According to Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa, the texts approving remarriage of child-widows are not applicable to the present age.²⁵³

13. *Divorce*. Al Bīrūnī observes that the Hindu 'husband and wife can only be separated by death, as they have no divorce'.²⁵⁴ The justification of Al Bīrūnī's observation is clearly borne out when it is remembered that the Dharmaśāstra writers regard marriage completed by *homa* and *saptapadi* as indissoluble. The evidence of Kauṭilya,²⁵⁵ however, is often understood to allow divorce. But, it should be noted that even Kauṭilya, who alone of the Śāstrakāras goes beyond the repudiation or rejection or abandonment (*tyāga*) as prescribed by the Smṛtis, and gives some consideration to the problem of divorce (*mokṣa*) or marriage, puts certain restrictions. Thus, according to him, there cannot be any dissolution of the marriage consecrated according to the *brāhma*, *daiva*, *ārśa* or *prājāpatya* form. Further, although he allows dissolution of the marriage tie if it was in the *gāndharva*, *āsura* or *rākṣasa* form, he

251 XIII. 55, 7.

252 III. p. 75, cited by B. N. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

253 *Smṛticandrika*, p. 221. As Altekar points out (*op. cit.*, p. 155), a section of the puritanical school attempted to extend the denotation of the term widow; 'it was argued that girls betrothed verbally, nay even mentally, should be regarded as married,' and 'if per chance their husbands died before the performance of the marriage ritual, they should be regarded as widows and become ineligible for remarriage.'

254 Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 154.

255 *Arthaśāstra*, III. 3.

puts stress to mutual consent. In other words, he appears to opine that there can be no dissolution at the instance of only one party to the marriage who has begun to feel aversion to the other party. Even in the latter case, he seems to make an exception, where physical danger is apprehended by one party from the other. No instance of divorce has as yet been traced in the Brāhmanical literature, and although the Buddhist literature records a few cases of divorce, as Altekar points out,²⁵⁶ there is evidence in the said literature itself to show that women in the higher classes of society were very unwilling to take advantage of the custom of divorce, prevailing among the lower classes. Thus, the *Kaṇhaḍipāyana Jātaka* (No. 444) speaks of a woman pointing out to her husband that 'though she felt no love for him, she refrained from a new marriage because it was not the custom in the family for a wedded wife to take a new husband.' Writers on Dharmaśāstra are of the opinion that 'marriage is a *saṁskāra*, that the status of wifehood arises from that *saṁskāra* that even if the husband or wife became *patita*, the *saṁskāra*, already performed is not annulled by that fact, that even if a wife committed adultery she still remains a wife and that when she performs a penance for her lapse, it is not necessary to have a fresh *saṁskāra* of

256 *Op. cit.*, pp. 85-86. The nun Isidāsī had several divorces in her earlier life. She was first married to a merchant in Ayodhyā, who abandoned her within a month. Next she was given in marriage by her father to another person who also sent her back within a short time. Her third marriage was with a worthy person; but this time also the marriage did not last even for a fortnight (*Therīgāthā*, 72, and commentary, cited by Altekar). The *Dhammapada* (II, 82, and commentary, cited by Altekar) refers to a woman named Kānā who refused to return to her husband, when she learnt that he had married another woman in her absence. The *Majjhimanikāya* (PTS, 1884-1904, Vol. II, p. 109, cited by Altekar) speaks of 'a family where the elders were anxious to divorce a discarded wife even against her wish and marry her to a new husband'.

marriage performed on her.²⁵⁷ It is noted above that Indian marriage was polygamous and 'a man was allowed to supersede a wife and marry another or others or to abandon his wife altogether in certain circumstances.'²⁵⁸ But, marrying a second one does not mean the dissolution of the marriage tie with the first. Kane points out that even when the husband was allowed to abandon the wife for her lapse, the wife received in most cases at least the starving maintenance, and remarks that 'tyāga (abandonment) was not only no divorce *a vinculo* at all but was not even a divorce *a mensa et thoro* (divorce from board and bed).'²⁵⁹ As we have already seen, some Smṛtis allow a woman to remarry in case the husband died, or was unheard of, etc. ; but the commentaries and digests assert that these rules are of a former age and are no longer applicable, and, what is more, Al Birūnī himself records that a wife cannot marry another man even when her husband is dead. Kane, therefore, does not seem to be altogether unjustified when he makes the observation that 'divorce in the ordinary sense of the word (*i.e.* divorce *a vinculo matrimonii*) has been unknown to the Dharmaśāstras and to Hindu society for about two thousand years (except on the ground of custom among the lower castes)'.²⁶⁰ The Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, however, permits divorce on the following grounds—adultery, conversion to another religion, insanity, leprosy, renunciation of the world, no trace for seven years, and non-compliance with a decree for restitution of conjugal rights for two years. The Act also permits the wife to get divorce on the ground that the husband has been guilty of rape, sodomy or bestiality, or that the husband had married again, or that any other wife of the

257 Cf. Viśvarūpa on Yāj., III. 253-54.

258 See discussion on Polygamy in Section 2 above ; cf. also Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 552-53.

259 *Op. cit.*, p. 620.

260 *Loc. cit.*

VIMALASŪRI'S PAUMACARIYA

ASIM KUMAR CHATTERJEE

Vimalasūri's *Paumacariya* (*Padmacarita*) is the earliest Jain version of the Rāma story. The date of the work¹ is given as year 530 after the Nirvāṇa of Vardhamāna and probably corresponds to 63 A.D.² Scholars like Jacobi,³ Keith⁴ and P. L. Jain⁵ do not accept Vimalasūri's statement regarding the date because the work uses words like *ḍināra* (68.32), *surāṅga* (5.85, 87), etc.*

The celebrated poem of Vimala is also known as *Rāhabacariya* (*Rāghavacarita*). From a few verses of Chapter II (lines 104-119), we understand his attitude towards the Brāhmaṇical Rāma story. Thus we are told : "When I consider the *Padmacarita*, I wonder how the petty and insignificant monkeys could kill the powerful and aristocratic Rākṣasas, who were versed in different sciences, and who had complete faith in the Jinas. We are further told by the native chronicler (apparently Vālmiki) that all the Rākṣasas including Rāvaṇa used to consume flesh, fat and blood. We further learn that Rāvaṇa's illustrious and valiant brother Kumbhakarna used to have an undisturbed sleep for six months, and even if he was hit by big hills, he could not be awakened ; he remained asleep even if his ears were filled with jars of oil. Loud sound of drums,

1 118. 103 — *pañceva ya vāsasayā dusaṃāe tisa varisa saṃjuttā /
V're siddhīn uvagae tao nibaddhaṃ imoṃ cariyān.* /

2 Jacobi, *Kalpasūtra*, pp. 8ff. ; *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 156.

3 *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VII, p. 467 ; see also his paper 'Some Ancient Jaina Works' in *Modern Review*, December, 1914.

4 *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 34, 40 (note 2).

5 Cf. *Prastāvanā* in his Hindi Introduction to Raviṣeṇa's *Padma Purāṇa*, Vol. I, pp. 21ff.

*[The work seems to belong to the Gupta age.—Ed.]

which could even pierce thunder, had no effect on him. And when he used to awake, he felt so hungry that he could then swallow elephants, buffaloes and anything that came in his way. After consuming gods, men and elephants, he used to go to sleep once more for six months. We have further heard that Rāvaṇa, after vanquishing Indra in battle, brought him in chains to the city of Laṅkā. But who can conquer the mighty Indra who is capable of uprooting the whole of Jambu-dvīpa, who has Airāvata as his *vāhana* and the terrible *vajra* as his weapon? By his very thought, he (*i.e.* Indra) can reduce to ashes any god or man. 'The deer killed the lion, and the dog, the elephant', such contradictory statements are found everywhere in the *Rāmāyaṇa*."

As a devout Jain and a firm believer in the doctrine of *ahiṃsā*, Vimala is not prepared to accept that the Rākṣasas of Laṅkā used to consume animal flesh. They are everywhere delineated in his work as Vidyādharas, although sometimes he forgetfully calls them also Rākṣasas (cf. 2. 105 ; 7. 92, etc.). These Vidyādharas, led by Rāvaṇa, are throughout portrayed as staunch Jains. Although Vimala is committed to writing the story of Padma (*i.e.* Rāma), his actual hero, at least in the first half of his work, is Rāvaṇa who, like Naravāhanadatta, appears in the *Paumacariya* as a perfect knight-errant—a Don Quixote and Romeo combined. As a matter of fact, the ghost of Naravāhanadatta looms large in all the Jain literary works beginning from Vimalasūri down to Hemacandra.

Vimala had a thorough knowledge, not only of the events narrated in Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, but also with its language. Although he contemptuously bestows on the earlier poets epithets like *kukavi*,⁶ *mūḍha*,⁷ etc., he actually follows the path trodden by them. Sometimes he does not hesitate to borrow

6 3. 15,

7 *Loc. cit.*

words and phrases of the original *Rāmāyaṇa*. However, while telling the story of Rāma and Rāvaṇa, he also tells something about the *Tīrthaṅkaras* and some legendary figures of the Jains. Some other interesting details are also found in his work, for which he is indebted to his own imagination.

The main details of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, viz. the birth of the four sons of Daśaratha, Rāma's marriage with Sītā, the daughter of Janaka, his departure for the forest along with Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā, Rāvaṇa's kidnapping of Sītā, death of Jaṭāyu at Rāvaṇa's hands, Rāma's meeting with Sugrīva, Hanumat's departure for Laṅkā, his meeting with Sītā, the battle of Laṅkā and the rescue and ultimate banishment of Sītā are all described in the *Paūmacariya*.

Besides these broad facts, there are also a large number of details common to both the *Paūmacariya* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Vimala has faithfully followed the original *Rāmāyaṇa* including its First and Seventh Books which are considered later additions to the original poem. A very good number of incidents narrated in the Uttara-kāṇḍa have been recorded by him. Vimala, to whom Rāvaṇa is a great Jain and a Vidyādhara, has cleverly changed the passages of the Uttara-kāṇḍa which describe Rāvaṇa's discomfitures. As for example, in the Uttara-kāṇḍa story, Arjuna, king of Māhiṣmati, is represented as having made Rāvaṇa his prisoner; but the *Paūmacariya* makes it just the opposite. In another Uttara-kāṇḍa story, Rāvaṇa is shown as having suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of Bālin; but in this work, Bālin appears as a Jain ascetic and is shown as having pressed the Kailāsa with the finger of his feet when Rāvaṇa was lifting it; in utter distress, he cried out and thus got the name of Rāvaṇa. It is amusing to see how the Jain poet has assigned to Bālin the role of Śiva in the Uttara-kāṇḍa (16. 25-38). Let no one suppose from this that Vimala has here followed a different tradition and not that recorded in the Uttara-kāṇḍa of the

Rāmāyaṇa. Even the language used in the epic has been borrowed by him. Some of the other Uttara-kāṇḍa stories, like the Rāvaṇa-Yama encounter, the Rāvaṇa-Varuṇa war or the Rāvaṇa-Indra battle, are recorded without any material change by Vimalasūri. But the famous story of the rape of Rambhā (VII. 26)⁸ is another example of the Jain poet's free treatment of his source. As Vimala is not prepared to accept the stories where Rāvaṇa is darkly painted, Rambhā is shown here as having fallen in love with Rāvana while the latter refuses her because she is a *para-stri* (12. 53ff.).

The above discussion will show that the *Paumacariya* does not record an independent tradition, but follows the *Rāmāyaṇa*, though it has given us interesting variations and new stories most of which have a strong Jain bias. Characters like Daśaratha, Bharata, Kumbhakarna, Indrajit and others are shown as embracing the ascetic life of Jain *Sādhus*. Unlike as in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the last two persons are not shown as being killed in battle. Daśaratha also does not die as in the Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa version, but becomes a Nirgrantha seer (Ch. 32). Rāvaṇa's killer is not Rāma, but Lakṣmana who takes a more important part in the battle of Laṅkā than Rāma. But Vimala has done an injustice to the brother of Rāma by representing him as a romantic hero. Cf. his romance with princess Vanamālā (Ch. 35) and his marriage with a number of other girls including one Jitapadmā, daughter of the king of Khemañjalipura (Ch. 38).

It is not a little curious that Vimala never misses any chance to show his readers his intimate knowledge about the behaviour of lovers. And we cannot say that in doing so he was inspired by the scenes described in the original *Rāmāyaṇa*. See, e.g., the story of Añjanā-Pavanañjaya romance, on which

⁸ In the *Harivaṃśa* (II. 93. 28 ff.), the story is the subject of a dramatic performance.

Vimala devotes a considerable space (Chs. 15-18). He takes particular delight in describing the body of beautiful women. Cf.

piṇ-unnaya-thaṇa-juyatā taṇu-majjhā viyaḍa-pīvara-niyambā |
rattāsoya-samujjala-kara-caraṇ-ālattaya-cchāyā | |
rūveṇa jovvaṇeṇa ya jaṇpiya-hasiṇa gai-sahāveṇa |
devāṇa vi harai maṇaṃ kiṃ puṇa esā maṇussāṇaṃ | |

(15. 62-63)

Note also the more vivid and poetic description of Sītā (26. 99-101). Vimala has referred to a few *kalās* in connexion with the description of Kaikeyī⁹ who has been described as *viviha-kal-āgama-kusalā*. The following arts are particularly mentioned by him—*naṭṭa*, *gandhavva*, *āharaṇavihi* (four types), *viṇṇa*, *libi-sattha*, *sadda-lakkhaṇa*, *gaya-turaya-lakkhaṇa*, *gaṇṇiya*, *chanda*, *nimitta*, *ālekkha*, *pattacchejja*, *bhoyaṇavihi*, *bahu-viha-rāyaṇa-visesa*, *kusuma-visesa*, and *loyannāṇa*.¹⁰ It is interesting to note that quite a few of these arts are not mentioned by Vātsyāyana in his comprehensive list of the 64 arts.¹¹ Among the arts mentioned by Vimala and not mentioned by the author of the *Kāmasūtra*, *libi-sattha* (*lipi-śāstra*) i.e. knowledge of writing, is the most significant. As regards Vātsyāyana's reference to 64 arts, it may be pointed out that the Jain *Kalpasūtra*, a pre-Christian work,* refers to 72 arts and 64 *mahilā-guṇas*.¹² But among the 72 arts, only 3, which are considered most important, are mentioned by the author of the *Kalpasūtra*—the knowledge of writing, mathematics and omens.

A serious reader of Jain and Buddhist texts (canonical and non-canonical) will not fail to notice a distinctly anti-Brāhma-

9 24. 5ff.

10 Raviṣeṇa in his *Padma Purāṇa* (24. 5-84) devotes no less than 80 verses on the different arts.

11 See B. N. Basu's trans., pp. 44ff.

* [The entire *Kalpasūtra* is not so early.—Ed.]

12. Ed. B. K. Chatterjee, Calcutta University, p. 212.

nical attitude that pervades them. This anti-Brāhmanism is much more pronounced in the Jain works than in the Buddhist, partly because of the Brāhmanical infiltration into the Buddhist Order, and partly because the Buddhists, on the whole, were more rational in their philosophical outlook than the Jains. The story of the co-called transfer of Mahāvīra's embryo from the womb of the Brāhmaṇī Devanandā to the Kṣatriyāṇī Triśalā abundantly shows the anti-Brāhmanical stance of the Jains. All the non-cononical writers among the Jains have freely indulged in reviling Brāhmaṇas. Some of them have gone so far as to exclude Brāhmaṇas from the caste system. The ludicrous story regarding the origin of Brāhmaṇas given by Vimala¹³ shows the highly affected attitude of the Jains towards them. It is amusing that, while Vimala condemns the Vedas as books full of lies (*aliya-vayana*),¹⁴ the *Kalpāsūtra* informs us that Mahāvīra had learned the four Vedas (*riu, jaiu, sāma* and *athavvaṇa*)¹⁵ and other Vedāṅgas in his early life.

There is not a single Jain work immune from the all-pervading influence of Brāhmanical philosophy. It appears that the Jains, throughout their history, suffered from a sort of inferiority complex in their relation to Brāhmaṇas. In the present work, some of the greatest Brāhmaṇas of Vedic and epic fame are painted in a dark colour. The great philosopher Kapila appears (Ch. 35) as an idiotic, wrathful, mean and worthless person. He is called *uluya-muho* (35.7). Another Brāhmaṇa who has been painted in dark colour is the great Saṁvarta of epic fame,¹⁶ who is shown as inferior to

13 4.64ff.

14 4.80.

15 *Jinacaritaṃ*, p. 8

16 See *Rām.*, VII, Ch. 18; *Mbh.*, XV, Chs. 3-10. This Brāhmaṇa had even threatened Agni that he would burn him by the fire of his eyes (*cak-ṣuṣā dāruṇena*, XV. 9. 12) if he dared to disturb Marutta's *yajña* of which he was the chief priest.

Nārada (11. 71ff.) in dispute. The latter is shown as a staunch Jain. Vimala also takes particular care to describe adulterous Brāhmaṇas ; cf. the Brāhmaṇa Vilāsabhūti, who fell in love with the wife of one Vinayadatta (48.64ff.), and the Brāhmaṇa Vasubhūti (39.41ff.).

The poet has mentioned a number of peoples in connexion with the story of the conquests of Lava and Kuśa (98.64ff.). They are—Āhira (Ābhīra), Voya (Bhoja ?), * Javana (Yavana), Kaccha, Saka (Śaka), Kīrala (Kerala), Nemāla (Nepāla), Varula, Cāruvacchī, Varāvaḍa, Sopāra (Sūrpāraka), Kasmīra (Kāśmīra), Viśāna (Viśānin), Vijja (Vidyādharma ?), Tisira (Trisīras), Hiḍimva (Herambaka ?), Amvaṭṭha (Ambaṭṭha), Śūla (Śūlika?), Bavvara (Barbara), Māla, Gosāla, Saramaya, Savara (Śavara), Ānaṇḍa, Tisira (already mentioned), Khasa, Mehālaya (Meghālaya), Surasena (Sūrasena), Pallhīya (Pallī or Paliyā), Khaṇḍa, Kola, Uluga (Ulūka), Purī (Purikā ?), Kobera (Kubera), Kuhara (Kuhaka ?), Arṇḍya (Andhra), Kālīṅga, Māiya (Māheya).¹⁷ In another place (98.59), Vimala mentions Lampāga (Lampāka) and describes it as *bahu-gāma-nagara-paripuṇṇa* which shows that Lampāka was a prosperous kingdom during the poet's time. Among the important towns mentioned by our poet, we can refer to the following—Daśapura (33.25, 33.60, 33.125, etc.), Kauśāmbī (55.38), Ujjayinī (33.25), Kāśī (20.33), Śrāvastī (20.29), Kākandī (20.35), Čampā (20.38), Mithilā (20.47), Vidarbhanagara (30.13), etc.

In Chapter 40, we have an interesting story regarding the origin of the famous Rāmagiri. It is apparent from this chapter that this hill was outside Daṇḍakāranya and that its earlier name was Varṇaśaīla (40.9). Since Vimala mentions Citrakūṭa

* [Voya cannot be Bhoja.—Ed.]

17 Most of the Sanskrit forms of the geographical names are taken from D. C. Sircar's *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India* (Delhi, 1960), and *Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature* (Calcutta, 1967).

separately (33.4), Mallinātha's contention (in his commentary on the *Meghadūta*, 1.1) that Rāmagiri is another name of Citrakūṭa, becomes doubtful. Our poet locates Rāmagiri near a town called Varṇasasthala (40.2).

Vimala mentions Hindu gods like Brahman, Trilocana Śaṅkara and Ananta Nārāyaṇa (5.122), Skanda called Hariṇigamesi and 'the general' (Balāṇḍo, 7.11).], the four Lokapālas (Yama, Soma, Varuna and Kubera, 7.43ff.), etc. Goddesses like Vārāhī, Vijayā, Kauberī, Kuṭilā, Śāṅkarī, Yogeśvarī, etc., are also mentioned (7.141ff.). The famous 8-day Jain festival (Aṣṭāhnikā) which commences on the 8th day and closes on the full-moon day of Āṣāḍha, Kārttika and Phālguna is mentioned (29.1-6 ; cf. Ch. 66, etc.). In this connexion, Vimala refers to the Jina-ratha processions (8.147f.).¹⁸ The 8-day festival was specially sacred to the god Nandiśvara (15.38ff.).

The work of Vimalasūri is the foundation on which later Jain poets built lofty edifices. Chronologically the next work dealing with the Rāma legend is the *Vasudevahiṇḍī* of Saṅghadāsa written by the end of the sixth century A.D. But the most famous Jain *Rāmāyaṇa*, a work more popular than that of Vimala is the Sanskrit *Padma Purāṇa* by Raviṣeṇa written in the last quarter of the 7th century A.D. This poem is nothing but an enlarged Sanskrit version of Vimala's Prakrit poem, although not even for once Raviṣeṇa cares to acknowledge his debt to Vimala. The reason is very plain. Raviṣeṇa was a Digambara Jain, while Vimala belonged to the Śvetāmbara sect. We have discussed the geographical information in Raviṣeṇa's work in the *Early History and Culture of the Jains*, ed. Sircar, pp. 100ff.

18 The description of Jina-ratha procession reminds us of the chariot procession of the Buddha image in Khotan described by Fa-hien (see Legge, *Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms*, pp. 18f.). In a paper on Jain festivals, Dr. Sm. K. Saha does not refer to the above Jain festival (see *Early History and Culture of the Jains*, ed. Sircar, pp. 25ff.).

After Raviṣeṇa, the most important work on Rāma legend comes from the pen of *Kavirāja* Svayambhūdeva whose work *Paūmacariyu* was written in Apabhramśa. The author expressly declares that his main source is the work of *Ācārya* Raviṣeṇa (I.2.9). Svayambhū's work was known to Puṣpadanta whose *Mahāpurāṇa* was written in 959 A. D. According to H. C. Bhayani, Svayambhū could not have written his work before the second half of the 9th century since he has referred to Seunadeśa washed by the river Bhīmā, which was actually founded by Seunachandra I who flourished in the first half of the 9th century.¹⁹ The poet mentions a number of countries along with their special products (45.4). Among the interesting products referred to by him, the following deserve mention—betel leaf of Deulavāḍaya (Devakulapāṭaka), betel-nut of Cedi (Cedi), *Kaṇṇuka* of Cittaūda, (Citrakūṭa), precious cloth of Harikela (East Bengal),²⁰ jewel of Ceylon, musk of Nepal, molasses of Rāmapura, etc. Another list²¹ mentions various places along with the beautiful parts of the body for which their ladies were famous. Since the list is very interesting, we are reproducing it below.

(1) Punāra—soles of feet, (2) Cedi—nails, (3) Golla (Mahārāṣṭra ?)—fingers, (4) Mākandī—ankles, (5) Śrīparvata—knees, (6) Nippāla (Nepāla)—thighs, (7) Karahāṭaka—waist,

19 *Paūmacariyu*, Vol. III, Intro., p. 41. Svayambhū (82. 6. 1-6) mentions the following peoples—Khasa, Savvara, Babbara, Takka, Kīra, Kauvera, Kurava, Sovira, Dhīra, Tuṅga, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kambhoja, Bhoṭṭa, Jālandhara, Javana, Kāmarūva, Tāiya (Tājika ?), Pārāsa, Kāhāra, Sura, Nepāla, Vaṭṭi, Hīṇḍiva, Tisira, Kerala, Kohala, Kailāsa, Vasira, Gandhāra, Magaha, Maddāhiva, Saka, Surasena, Maru, Vasa, Viheya, Avara, Pallāṭa and Mehuleya.

20 Hemacandra identifies Vaṅga with Harikela (Raychaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, 2nd ed., p. 267). In the *Harṣacarita* (p. 145), the *pustakavācaka* (reader) Sudrāṣṭi clothes himself with Paundra (North Bengal) cloth. [Harikela is Śrīhaṭṭa according to Keśava's *Kalpadrakoṣa*.—Ed.]

21: 49.8 (Bhayani's ed., Vol. II, pp. 224-25). [Nos. 9 and 21 are the same. —Ed.]

- (8) Kāñci—hips, (9) Gambhīra (Gambhīrā)—navel, (10) Sīṅgāriya—back, (11) Elāura (Elāpura, Ellora)—breasts, (12) Majjhima-desā—chest, (13) Pacchima desā—shoulders, (14) Varamaṭ (Dvārakā ?)—arms, (15) Sindhava (Sind)—wrists, (16) Kacchāyaṇa (Cutch)—neck, (17) Goggaḍa—lips, (18) Kannāḍa (Kaṇṇāṭaka)—teeth, (19) Kārahana—tongue, (20) Tuṅga-viṣaya—nose, (21) Gambhīra—eyes, (22) Ujjeṇī—eyebrows, (23) Cittaḍḍa (Chitor)—forehead, (24) Kāsi—cheeks, (25) Kaṇṇāujja (Kanauj)—ears, (26) Kāola—hair, (27) Dāhina-desā (Dakṣiṇa-deśa)—courteous manners.

The story of Rāma is also told by some other important Jain writers among whom Gunabhadra (897 A.D.), Hariṣeṇa (931 A.D.), Puṣpadanta (959 A.D.) and Hemacandra (2nd half of the 12th century) deserve special notice. Guṇabhadra, a disciple of the famous Jinasena I, author of the *Ādipurāṇa*, completed his *Uttarapurāṇa* in 897 A.D. Like the author of the *Dasaratha Jātaka*,²² he represents Rāma's father as a king of Vārāṇasī. The story of the birth of Sītā, as given by him, is exactly like that found in the *Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa* which, however, is a much later work. He also speaks of Sītā's 8 sons ; but there is no mention of Lava and Kuśa. The well-known *Kathakośa* of Hariṣeṇa was written in 931 A. D. (Vikrama 989, Śaka 853) when Vinayādīkapāla (Vināyaka-pāla), the Pratihāra king, was ruling the earth. No. 84 of his *Kathā* is entitled *Rāmāyaṇakathānaka*. For his Rāma story, Hariṣeṇa is, however, more indebted to Vālmīki than Vimala. According to him, Daśaratha had four wives, viz. Sukosalā, Sumitrā, Kekayā and Suprajā. The same *Kathā* contains another story entitled *Sītākathānaka* (No. 89) according to which Sītā became a Jain nun after her fire-ordeal.²³

22 It is interesting to note that, in one place of the *Kathakośa* (No. 2, verse 1), Mathurā is called *jin-āyatana-maṇḍitā* which shows that, even in the 10th century A.D., the city was famous for its Jain temples. No. 136

Puṣpadanta's *Mahāpurāṇa* (959 A. D.) is mainly based on Guṇabhadra's work. Hemacandra²³ is indebted to both Vimāla and Raviṣeṇa. But it should be remembered that the Rāma story as told by authors like Guṇabhadra, Hariṣeṇa, Puṣpadanta and Hemacandra occupies parts of their well-known works.²⁴ Sometimes they borrow a few things from Vālmīki ; but none among them is entirely immune from the all-pervading influence of Vimāla.

mentions Rohiṭka (Rohitaka of the *Mahābhārata*, II. 32.4) which has been described as sacred to Kārttikeya. The same story also mentions Kārttikapura, probably to be identified with the famous Kārttikeyanagara (present Baijnath near Almora). There is also reference to an affluent city called Devakoṭṭapura or Devakoṭṭapura situated in Varendrī and to Mahāpallava (No. 141). [Devakoṭṭa is probably Devikoṭṭa, modern Bangadh in the Dinajpur District, Bangladesh.—Ed.]

23 The Rāma story is told in two works of Hemacandra, viz. *Triṣaṣṭi-śalākāpuruṣacaritra* and *Yogaiśāstrasvapnoḥṇa-vṛtti* [sic—Ed.].

24 For a fuller list of Jain *Rāmakathās*, see V. M. Kulkarni's Introduction to Part I of Vimāla's *Paūmacariya* (Prakrit Text Society, Kāśī), pp. 1 ff.

NOTES

JAIN GODDESSES AND TANTRICISM IN KARNĀTAKA

RAM BHUSAN PRASAD SINGH

The worship of goddesses appeared as a new phenomenon among the Jains of Karnāṭaka during early medieval times. The elevation of some Jain Yakṣiṇīs from the deities of a minor order formed the basis of the mother cult in Karnāṭaka.

The Yakṣiṇīs who figured most prominently in the early Jain literature were a class of attendant deities and had no separate existence apart from the Jinas. Their position underwent considerable change during later periods. They were now deified and worshipped as independent divinities. In iconic representations of the 7th century, Ambikā or Kūṣamāṇḍinī, who is the Yakṣiṇī of the 22nd Jina, is given four arms with two children on her lap. She is depicted on the left side of the Jina as waiting upon her lord.¹ But the Yakṣiṇī of the Meguṭi temple at Aihole in the Bijapur District, who is identified with Ambikā or Ambādevī, does not wait upon the Jina, but is shown independently. She does not carry children herself; instead the children are held by two female attendants on either side.²

The change in the position of the Yakṣiṇīs, who were invariably placed on the left side of the Jina, also suggests their elevation. The image of the Yakṣiṇī found in the cave temple at Badami, is depicted on the right side of the 7th Jina Supārśvanātha. The figure is important, for, unlike the Yakṣiṇīs, she

1 Burgess, *Digambara Jaina Iconography*, p. 5; also *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 463. [Read *Kuṣmāṇḍī*.—Ed.]

2 Cousens, *The Cālukyan Architecture of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 31.

is holding no particular symbols in her two hands.³ Thus, Cave No. 5 (750-950 A.D.) at Badami indicates a higher status of the Yakṣiṇīs.

The exaltation of the position is also evident from the iconographical representations of the Yakṣiṇīs in other regions. The two images of Padmāvatī found at Hanumankonda and Danavulapadu in Andhra Pradesh give us the same impression. The image of Padmākṣī, identified with the Jain Yakṣiṇī Padmāvatī, is clearly placed on the right side of the Jina.⁴ The Anandamangalam sculptures in the Tamil region,⁵ which belong to the 9th and 10th centuries, represent the Yakṣiṇī Siddhāyikā on the right side of the 24th Jina, Mahāvīra.

The Jain teachers, who contributed to the development of the Yakṣiṇī cult in Kārṇāṭaka, seem to have concentrated their attention on the worship of some particular Yakṣiṇīs. Among the most important secondary deities who were promoted to a higher position, Jvālāmālīnī, Padmāvatī and Ambikā emerged as the most popular goddesses who received public adoration of the Jains in Kārṇāṭaka.

Jvālāmālīnī, who is the Yakṣiṇī of the 8th Jina Candraprabha,⁶ is described as the goddess of fire in the Digambara tradition.⁷ This is proved by the burning blazes of flames issuing upward from her crest. The *Jvālīnikalpa*, composed by Indranandin in the 10th century, also describes her as the *agnivāhini-devī* or the goddess of fire.⁸ She appears to be a terrible deity, who has eight arms carrying deadly weapons such as discus, arrow, shield, trident, bow, snake, etc.⁹

3 BDCRI, Vol. I, pp. 160-61.

4 Gopal Krishna Murthy, *Jaina Vestiges in Andhra Pradesh*, pp. 27-31.

5 P. B. Desai, *Jainism in Karnataka*, p. 38.

6 Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 4; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 462.

7 Burgess, *op. cit.*, Fig. 8, Plate II.

8 *Jvālīnikalpa*, Ch. I, p. 1, v. 2,

9 *Loc. cit.*

The *Jvālinīkalpa* gives an interesting story about the beginning of the popularity of this goddess and states that Halācārya of the famous Draviḍa Saṅgha first started her worship on the summit of the Nīlagiri hill near Hemagrāma in the south in order to remove the bad influence of an evil spirit, known as Brahmarāksasa who had overpowered his female disciple Kamalaśrī.¹⁰ After continuous meditation for a number of days, he succeeded on the 7th day, when the goddess appeared and asked him to write an incantation on a sheet of iron to free the lady from the influence of the evil spirit.¹¹ She also advised him to systematise the occult practices for achieving all the earthly and heavenly blessings.

The event, which is narrated in the text, cannot be assigned to any definite date. Probably, it happened in the middle of the 9th century, for Indranandin, who finally composed this text in 939 A. D. at the Rāṣṭrakūṭa capital Malkhed, was the fifth Jain teacher who succeeded Helācārya. Indranandin is said to have learnt this system from Kandarpa and Guṇanandin. It is further stated that Guṇanandin was preceded by Nīlagrīva and Gaṅgamuni.¹² Of these two, the latter was a direct disciple of Helācārya.¹³ If we allot 20 years for a generation of teachers, we may place Helācārya in the middle of the 9th century which marked the beginning of the worship of Jvālāmālīnī in Karnaṭaka.

The composition of the *Jvālinīkalpa* by Indranandin about the middle of the 10th century led to the popularity of this goddess. By the 11th century, we have epigraphic evidence to show the prevalence of this cult. A temple was constructed for Jvālāmālīnī at Javur in the Navilgunda Taluk of the

10 *Jvālinīkalpa*, Ch. I, p. 1, vv. 5-7.

11 *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2, vv. 8ff.

12 *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3, vv. 20ff.

13. *Loc. cit.*

Dharwar District sometime before 1059 A.D.¹⁴ It was erected by a monk of the Yāpanīya sect evidently for offering independent worship.

Padmāvatī, attached to the 23rd Jina, Pārśvanātha,¹⁵ was another popular goddess in Karṇāṭaka. She figures in the story of the foundation of the Gaṅga kingdom in the second century and is said to have favoured Mādhava with a magic sword for breaking a pillar. But there are grave doubts regarding the origin of her cult at such an early date, because this tradition appears in the epigraphs of the 11th and 12th centuries.* However, Yakṣiṇī Padmāvatī, who figures frequently in the records of the Śāntara kings, gained prominence in Karṇāṭaka as a cult goddess from the 10th century. Jinadattarāya, the founder of the Śāntara kingdom in the south, is recorded to have set up Lokkiyabbe in the Jain temple at Humca¹⁶ in the Nagar Taluk of the Shimoga District in the 10th century. That Lokkiyabbe was the second name of Padmāvatī is attested by another record of the 11th century.¹⁷ From this time onwards, a large number of minor ruling families such as the Śilāhāras and Raṭṭas became the votaries of this goddess.¹⁸

Ambikā or Kūśamāṇḍinī, the Yakṣiṇī of the 22nd Jina,¹⁹ also attained independent status by the middle of the 7th century. It is proved by her figure in the Meguṭi temple at Aihole.²⁰ In the 8th century, Akalaṅka is said to have vanquished his Buddhist opponents by invoking the aid of Kūśamāṇḍinī.²¹

14 Desai, *op. cit.* p. 143.

15 Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 5 : *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 463.

16 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, p. 37, Sh 144.

17 *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 134, Nr 35.

18 Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

* [The Gaṅga kingdom was not founded so early as the 2nd century A.D.—Ed.]

19 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 463. [Read *Kuśmāṇḍī*.—Ed.]

20 Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

21 Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

Somadeva refers to the prevalence of her cult in the 10th century. From the above description, it is clear that several of the Yakṣiṇīs acquired the characteristics of independent divinities among the Jains of Karṇāṭaka.

Gradually Tantric attributes and Tantric rites were associated with these goddesses, who came to be invested with mystical powers. They are said to have bestowed superhuman powers upon the devotees by which the latter could bring a person under control, win over the enemies on the battlefield and cause hostility between two persons. The element of magic and miracle attributed to Jvālāmālīnī and Padmāvati is evident from the study of the Jain texts on Tantricism.

The growth of Jain Tantricism was the natural outcome of the early medieval age which witnessed the infiltration of Tantricism into Buddhism, Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. In this age the people in general relied more upon the supernatural agencies for the fulfilment of temporal as well as spiritual ideals. They abandoned the original ethical principles for the sake of mysterious Yogic practices and magical spells. The Jain teachers of Karṇāṭaka, who advocated the worship of Tantric deities, were thus followers of the prevailing religious norms. They made full use of magical spells and amulets, and systematised the occult lore in their works.

Occult practices also appear in the early Jain texts. Despite their denunciation in the Jain scriptures, the Jains practised incantation from the earliest times. The *Sthānāṅgasūtra* refers to Jains who were sensualists.²² The curative spells are mentioned in the *Uttarādhyāyanasūtra*.²³ In the *Sūtra-kṛtāṅga*,²⁴ we have instances of the monks who take to incantation for making a person happy or miserable. The *Niryuktis*,

22 See 4. 4, cited by C. Chakravarti, *Tantras : Studies in their Religion and Literature*, p. 16.

23 *Loc. cit.*

24 *Loc. cit.*

which are assigned to 300-500 A.D.,²⁵ state that the Jain monks managed to acquire food with the help of magical spells.²⁶ The *Samarāiccakahā*, which is a work of the 8th century, refers to a magician who restored life to Sagaradatta after the latter had been administered strong poison by his mother.²⁷ In the same text, we have the story of a goddess who gave Sena a miraculous stone which could remove all diseases. With this, he cured king Samaraketu of his disease when all physicians had failed.²⁸

The epigraphs of our period also speak of the supernatural powers of the Jain monks. Bhadrabāhu is stated to have forecast a calamity in the North in a Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa epigraph of the 7th century.²⁹ The Jain monk Arkakīrti received grant of land and village for removing the influence of an evil spirit from a prince named Vimalāditya during the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda III.³⁰

Though we have several instances of spells and charms in early times, a fully developed system of Jain Tantricism was evolved by the Jain teachers of Karnaṭaka in the 10th and 11th centuries. They contributed to the growth of Tantric literature and systematised the occult lore in their works.

The composition of the *Jvālīnīkalpa* by Indranandin and the *Bhairavapadmāvatīkalpa* by Malliṣeṇasūri, which are mainly devoted to the glorification of Jvālāmālīnī and Padmāvatī, marked the perfection of the Jain Tantric system, which now assimilated the different characteristics of Tantricism, such as *mantra* or the utterance of fixed syllabic words, *yantra* or mechanical contrivances drawn on paper or inscribed on pre-

25 S. B. Deo, *op. cit.*, p. 42. [Read *Hist. J. Monach.* for *op. cit.*—Ed.]

26 *Ibid.*, p. 298.

27 *Samarāiccakahā*, pp. 153, 79, cited in *JA*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, p. 23.

28 *Ibid.*, pp. 564-58, cited in *JA*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, p. 22.

29 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. II, SBI, p. 1.

30 *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, GbCL, pp. 30-31; *Ep. Ind*, Vol. IV, No. 49, p. 349.

cious stone, metal, etc., for obtaining favourable results, *mudrā* or special positions of fingers and movements of hands and *nyāsa* or imaginary placing of the deities on the different parts of the body. These are the means by which the aspirant invokes and identifies himself with his chosen deity,³¹

The Tantric character of these goddesses is evident from the study of the above two treatises which contain instructions for the observance of the rites for Tantric worship. The *Padmāvatīkalpa*, for example, refers to the observance of six magical rites³² for the attainment of desired results.

The *Padmāvatīkalpa* devotes one chapter to the rites relating to *vaśīkaraṇa*, explained as *vaśyatantr-ādhikāra*,³³ which refers to the Tantric formulas and mystic diagrams for invoking the aid of the goddess Padmāvatī. Chapter 9 of this text explains the Tantric methods by which a woman can be easily won over.³⁴ The other magical rites such as *stambhana* or the rite of making one motionless, *dveṣa* or the art of causing enmity, and *śānti* or the rites performed with a view to removing calamity and disease, are referred to in both the *Bhairava-padmaṅvatīkalpa* and the *Jvālīnīkalpa*.

Of these two texts, the former enlightens the aspiring devotee about the appropriate methods and insists on the correct knowledge of different directions, time, bodily postures and special positions³⁵ of fingers and movements of hands for attaining success.³⁵ It recommends the observance of *saroja-mudrā* and *svastikāsana* for the performance of the rite of *vaśīkaraṇa* in the morning during the spring season.³⁶

The utterance of *mantras* or mystic syllables, which has a

31 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, ed. Majumdar, p. 317.

32 *Bhairavapadmāvatīkalpa*, Ch. 3, p. 9, v. 1.

33 *Ibid.*, Ch. 7, pp. 36-44.

34 *Ibid.*, Ch. 9, pp. 53-61.

35 *Ibid.*, Ch. 3, p. 9, v. 4.

36 *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10, vv. 5ff.

special significance in the Tantric form of worship, is also referred to in the *Bhairavapadmāvatīkalpa*. It lays down³⁷ that the devotee should repeatedly utter the *mantra* and offer oblation to the fire, enkindled before the goddess. He is enjoined to give one-tenth of his time to offering oblation to the fire. In order to please the goddess Padmāvatī, the devotees are advised to repeat the spell known as the *klīṅkara-mantra*. At another place, there is reference to a mystic formula which causes sleep to the enemy if uttered for one lakh times.³⁸ Though the vast majority of the *mantras* uttered for invoking the goddesses such as *hrīṅ*, *huṅ*, *hrām*, *hruṃ*, *hrah*, *vaṃ*, *maṃ*, *haṃ*, *saṃ*, *taṃ*, etc., carry no sense, they are supposed to produce beneficial results for the worshippers.

The performance of the *nyāsa* or consecrating the different parts of the body with names of the deity is another important Tantric rite. We come across a detailed description of this rite known as *svāṅga-vinyāsa* in the chapter called *sakalīkaraṇa*.³⁹ It refers to the purification of the head, face, heart, navel and leg by uttering the *bija-mantra* consisting of five syllabic words such as *hrām*, *hrīṃ*, *hruṃ*, *hraum* and *hrah* respectively. The deities, who are placed on the head, face, heart, navel and legs, are collectively known as the *pañca-parameṣṭhis* or the five perfect beings.⁴⁰ In the *Jyāīnikalpa*, Malliṣeṇa emphasises the necessity of observing the rite of *sakalīkaraṇa* without which it is impossible to attain success in the observances relating to *stambhana*.⁴¹ It refers first to the *nyāsa* of the fingers of the right hand by uttering such mystic syllables as *vaṃ*, *maṃ*, *haṃ*, *saṃ* and *taṃ*.⁴² It is followed

37 *Ibid.*, p. 9, v. 4.

38 *Ibid.*, Ch. 7, p. 41, v. 23.

39 *Ibid.*, Ch. 2, pp. 4-8.

40 *Ibid.*, p. 4, vv. 2-4.

41 *Jyāīnikalpa*, Ch. 3, p. 6, v. 1.

42 *Ibid.*, v. 2.

by the *nyāsa* of the left hand by reciting another *bija-mantra*.⁴³ So, there are different mystic formulas for performing the *nyāsa* of the different parts of the body.

In the *Jvālīnikalpa*, there are descriptions of no less than a score of {*maṇḍalas* or magic circles, which played a prominent role in the Tantric form of worship. The circle, which contains the mystic figures of gods and goddesses, is used as a vantage ground to summon the evil spirits. Chapter 4 of the work refers to the use of magic circles for averting the influence of *bhūtas* or mischievous spirits⁴⁴ who cause injury to men and destroy them mysteriously. The magical rite, which is suggested here, is performed in different stages. At the first stage, the worshipper is ordained to draw a round circle on plain ground either on the border of a town or in the centre of a village.⁴⁵ The circle, which is to be drawn, should measure eight cubits and should be adorned with flags, mirrors, bells, etc.⁴⁶ He is then advised to place four pitchers filled with water on the four corners of the diagram. At the third stage, he should draw the figures of *dikpālas* or the guardian deities of different directions. This being done, the worshipper should finally represent the *bhūta* in the centre of the circle, and worship him with flowers, perfumes, and unbroken rice by muttering the special *mantra* for the goddess *Jvālīnī*.

The above analysis of the Jain texts on Tantricism clearly illustrates the introduction of Tantric elements into the worship of the Jain goddesses in *Karṇāṭaka*. As in Buddhism and Brāhmanical Hinduism, Tantricism vitally affected Jainism, and influenced the religious outlook of the *Karṇāṭaka* Jain

43 *Ibid.*, v. 3.

44 *Ibid.*, Ch. 4, p. 13, v. 1.

45 *Loc. cit.*

46 *Ibid.*, Ch. 4, p. 13, vv. 2ff.

teachers who expected aid of the goddesses for attainment of ordinary worldly perfection and spiritual salvation.*

* [In Kārṇāṭaka, Śaivism was a dominant religion and Śaiva ascetics usually claimed supernatural powers. It was not possible for Jainism to survive there unless Jain monks also claimed similar powers. Jain goddesses had likewise to compete with terrible Śaiva-Śākta deities.—The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa was a Jain and a believer in occult practices. "He revered Mahāvīra as profoundly as Mahālakṣmī, and on one occasion, proffered to the latter a finger of his own in the belief that such sacrifice would abate a severe epidemic" (*A. Imp. Kan.*, ed. Majumdar, p. 11).—Ed.]

A COPPER COIN OF VRAJANĀTHASIMHA

VASANT CHOWDHURY and

PARIMAL RAY

The Ahom coins, with a few exceptions, have the peculiarity of being octagonal in shape. The earliest Ahom coins, so far discovered, bear a date equivalent to 1543 A. D. and were struck by Śuklenmung in the fourth year of his reign.¹ The last dated coins of the dynasty are the Quarter-Rupees issued by Yogeśvarasimha in Śaka 1743 (1821 A.D.).² From the beginning, the Ahom rulers coined their currency in gold and silver, there being no copper coinage. We know that cowrie-shells were used for minor transactions.³

A round copper coin, struck by Vrajanāthasimha, who ruled in 1818 A.D., was recorded first by B. B. Bidyabinod in the *Supplementary Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. I, 1923, p. 88, No. 5*. Recently, another round copper coin of the same Vrajanāthasimha was traced in the possession of Sri Babulal Jain of Calcutta, who has kindly allowed us to examine and publish it.

The coin may be described as follows :— Metal—copper ; Size—round, diameter 26.75 mm ; Weight—11.00 gms.

Obverse. Within dotted border, four-line legend in Bengali-Assamese script with crescent with dot over *Vra* in line 1—

- 1 *Śrī-Śrī-Vraja-*
- 2 *nāthasimha-nṛpa-*
- 3 *kāritam Śāke*
- 4 1739 (//*)

1 Edward Gait, *A History of Assam*, p. 276.

2 See *JASB*, Num. Sup. No. XLVI, in Vol. II, 1936, No. 3, Article No. 340 (H. E. Stapleton, 'The Countess Amherst Collection of Assamese Coins'), p. 132, Pl. 5/8.

3 Cf. J. Allan, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1909, p. 311.

"Struck by the illustrious monarch, Vrajanāthasimha in Śaka 1739."

Reverse. Legend in the Persian script with dots in the field—'Alam Shāh Bahādu[r] Bādshāh zad sikka Shri Brijnāth Singh,⁴ "The coin is struck by the illustrious Vrajanāthasimha [in the name of] Emperor Shāh 'Alam Bahādur."

Shortly after his installation, Vrajanāthasimha was replaced by his son Purandarasingha because he was ineligible for the throne under Ahom custom since he had suffered some mutilation of body.⁵ He appears to have reigned for about three months at the end of Śaka 1739 and the beginning of the following year, i.e. from February to April or May, 1818 A.D.⁶ It is worthy of note that, though his reign period was very short, Vrajanāthasimha was keen on striking coins.

He struck coins in Śaka 1739 and 1740, and a fairly large number of these coins, in gold and silver, are available in various Cabinets. Like his predecessor, Vrajanāthasimha too issued coins of all denominations including the silver $\frac{1}{32}$ Rupee⁷ in order to meet the demand for small changes.

Ahom copper coins were first issued by king Vrajanāthasimha. The coin noticed by B. B. Bidyabinod bears the legend *Śrī-Śrī-Vrajanāthasimha-nṛpa-kārita paṇa-mūlya*, "Struck by the illustrious monarch Vrajanāthasimha [in the denomination of] the *paṇa* value." According to Bidyabinod, the said copper piece was worth one Kāhaṇa of cowries,⁸ while

4 We are indebted to Md. Nazim, Curator, Coin Room, Indian Museum, Calcutta, for the reading of the Persian legend. [Better *Shāh 'Alam*.—Ed.]

5 Gait, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

6 Stapleton, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-31.

7 A. W. Botham, *Catalogue of the Provincial Coin Cabinet, Assam*, p. 522, No. 12.

8 B. B. Bidyabinod, *op. cit.*, p. 88. Bidyabinod says that the word *Kārita-paṇa* probably stands for *Kāṛiṣāpana* or *Kāṛṣāpana*, i.e. one Bengal Kāhaṇa or 80 cowries so that the legend means that the copper piece of king Vrajanātha was worth one Kāhaṇa of cowries. [1280 cowries made 1 Kāhaṇa.—Ed.]

A. N. Lahiri has suggested that the coin has been made equal to the value of a *paṇa* as an experiment with copper for issuing a small coin on the analogy of the copper issues of the East India Company.⁹ The coin weighs 86.5 grains (5.510 grams approximately) and measures .71 inch (17.10 millimeters).

The copper coin of Vrajanāthasimha, now published, does not bear any indication of value, but has a date. However, its value can be regarded as double the value of the coin recorded by Bidyabinod.

The coin under study was struck by Vrajanāthasimha in the Śaka year 1739 (1818 A.D.), when the *sikka* currency of the East India Company was in force within the Bengal Presidency. Curiously enough, the word *sikka* is also found in the legend on the reverse side of the coin and, with this clue, the denomination of the coin may be determined. According to P. L. Gupta, "From 1772, when the mints of Patna, Dacca and Murshidabad were withdrawn, no copper coins were minted in the province of Bengal till 1783."¹⁰ It may be noted here that in 1783 A. D., the Ahom king Gaurināthasimha was on the throne. He appears to have been the first to introduce the thirty-second subdivision of the Rupee,¹¹ in addition to the sixteenth, in the Ahom coinage. The said thirty-second Rupee, viz., half-anna, was struck in silver.¹² Following Gupta, it may be assumed that, owing to the

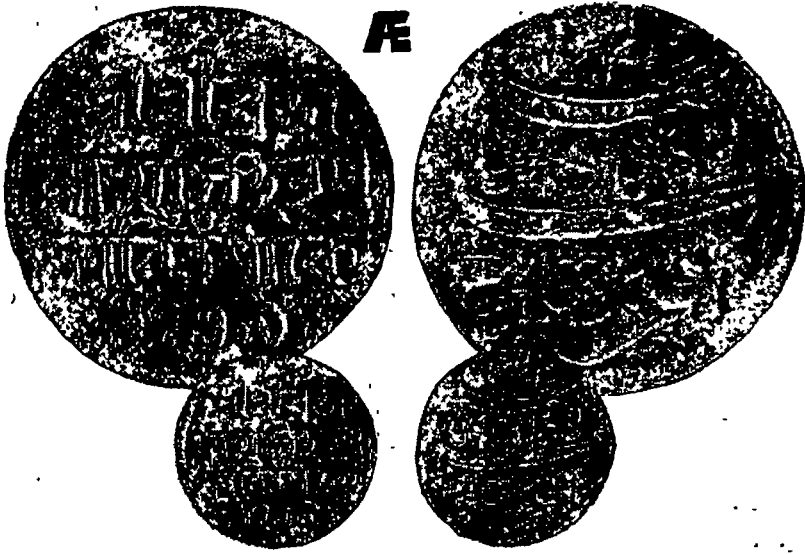
9 Cf. 'A Unique Copper Coin in the Indian Museum', *Indian Museum Bulletin*, Vol. II, No. 2, 1967, pp. 71-72. [Paṇa was $\frac{1}{16}$ of the silver coin (Rupee).—Ed.]

10 P. L. Gupta, *Coins*, p. 164.

11 Allan, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

12 It is noteworthy that prior to Gaurināthasimha, king Dharmamānikyadeva (II) of Tripurā, who was on the throne in 1714 A. D., struck, in silver, the thirty-second subdivision of the Rupee of Tripurā. See Chowdhury and Ray, 'Itihāser ālote Tripur Rāj Govindamānikyadeva O Tāmhār Mudrā', *Desh* (Bengali), 22nd January, 1970, p. 78.

PLATE III



[A Copper Coin of Vrajanāthasimha (pp. 126-27)]

discontinuation of striking of copper coins by the East India Company, Gaurināthasimha had no other alternative but to strike Half-Anna coins in silver, which, otherwise might have been in copper.¹³ Gupta also states, 'in 1795, it was decided to issue from Calcutta Mint coins of only two denominations—pice and half-pice. These coins bear *Shāh 'Alam Bādshāh 37* on the obverse and the value in Persian, Bengali and Nāgarī, as *Ek pāi sikka* and *Neem* pāi sikka*," and these copper *sikka* coins were continued upto the year 1817 A.D.

The copper *sikka* of Vrajanāthasimha was struck in the name of Shāh 'Alam Bādshāh in 1818 A.D., perhaps, on the analogy of the copper issues of the East India Company. Therefore, the denomination of the coin may be regarded as two-*panas* equal to one-*pāi sikka* (*ek pāi sikka*), or sixty-fourth subdivision of Rupee, while the copper coin recorded by Bidyabinod is a *pana* coin equal to half-*pāi sikka* (*Neem* pāi sikka*) or the hundred-twenty-eighth of Rupee. Among the Ahom rulers, Vrajanāthasimha, thus, appears to have been the first to introduce copper coins in the coinage of Assam as two subdivisions of the Rupee.

Traditionally, on the larger denomination of Ahom coins, the obverse bears the name of the king with honorifics and the date of issue, and the reverse, epithets containing the phrase indicating the king's devotion to a particular deity or deities. On the coins of smaller denominations, the epithet is omitted owing to want of space. Here it may be interesting

13 The monetary system of Indian semi-independent or independent rulers were well under the control of the East India Company towards the end of the eighteenth century. In the Company's coinage, copper coins of the highest denomination were the Half-Anna piece which is equal to two-pice or one-thirty-second Rupee, except two copper issues, viz., *Pātnā Post* minted in 1774 A.D. in the denominations of Two-Anna and One-Anna respectively.

* [Better *nim*. *Sikka* was 'a stamped coin', particularly the silver currency.—Ed.]

to mention that the coin under discussion has a bigger flan than those of the Rupee coins ; but still on the reverse, the usual expression of devotion in the epithet has been replaced by the name of Shāh 'Alam alongwith the name of the issuer. Thus, Vrajanāthasimha broke the tradition of Ahom rulers by introducing the name of the Mughul Bādshāh in the coinage of Assam.

The East India Company struck the copper *sikka* currency in the name of Shāh 'Alam from the year 1795 upto 1817 A. D.,¹⁴ although he died in 1806 A.D.¹⁵ Similarly, the name of Shāh 'Alam appears in the copper coins of Vrajanāthasimha minted in 1818 A.D., the Indian monetary system being well under the control of the East India Company during that period. It is also noteworthy that the name of Shāh 'Alam in the legend has been mentioned here, for the first time, with the honorific *Bahādur*.¹⁶

Among the Ahom rulers, Śivasimha and his Queen Pramatheśvarī introduced the Persian script in their square coins¹⁷ minted in Śaka 1631 (1729 A.D.). Thereafter, Rājeśvarasimha too issued two types of coins with Persian—a square issue in Śaka 1674 (1752 A.D.) and again in Śaka 1685 (1763 A.D.), the latter being octagonal. However, after a lapse of a little

14 James Atkins, *The Coins and Tokens of the Possessions and Colonies of the British Empire*, 1889, p. 158.

15 W. W. Webb, *Currencies of the Hindu States of Rājputānā*, p. 40 — 'until the year A.D. 1858 the name and symbols of Shāh 'Alam were continued on the coins issue

16 As evidenced by their coins, four Mughul Emperors, Aurangzeb, Shāh 'Alam I, Aḥ nad Shāh and Bahādur Shāh II, bore the honorific *Bahādur*.

17 Recently, we have found four round silver Rupees with legend in the Persian script, which were issued by Śivasimha and his Queen Pramatheśvarī in Śaka 1649. These coins are still under study.

over half a century, the Persian script again appeared in the copper coin of Vrajanāthasimha. Curiously enough, the Persian script has been used in the reverse legend while, on the obverse, the traditional Bengali-Assamese script has been maintained.

In the history of Ahom coinage, this is a unique example of the simultaneous use of two different languages and scripts.

IDEA OF PROTOHISTORY IN INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

DILIP K. CHAKRABARTI

The purpose of the present note is only to ask if the term 'protohistory' possesses any clear and precise connotation in Indian archaeology. Occasional doubts have already been expressed about the meaningfulness of the term;¹ but there has been very little systematic examination of its basis.

In 1962, Sankalia² grouped under the category of protohistory the Vedic and the post-Vedic period ending about the sixth century B.C., the Harappan civilization and different early chalcolithic or late neolithic cultures. In 1967-68, Sinha's³ idea was that only those Indian cultures which were likely to possess some contemporaneity with the Vedic age, dated according to him between 1300 and 600 B. C., should be considered protohistoric. The Allchins⁴ in 1968 accepted the relevance of this term only in the context of pre-literate cultures of the supposed core-area of the Vedic literature, *i.e.*, the Punjab plains, the Ganga-Yamuna doab and even the central Ganga basin. In 1972, Das⁵ argued that only the post-Harappan chalcolithic cultures were 'in reality' protohistoric. He

1 Cf. *Purātattva* (Bulletin of the Indian Archaeological Society), No. 6 (1972-73), p. 82.

2 H. D. Sankalia, *Indian Archaeology Today* (Bombay, 1962), pp. 26-28.

3 K. K. Sinha, 'The use of the terms "Prehistory" and "Protohistory" in Indian Archaeology', *Purātattva*, No. 1 (1967-68), pp. 39-41.

4 B. and R. Allchin, *The Birth of Indian Civilization* (Hammonds-worth, 1968), p. 27.

5 S. R. Das, *An Approach to Indian Archaeology* (Calcutta, 1972) pp. xiii-xvii.

left the pre-literate iron-using cultures out of his consideration because, according to him, the use of iron was 'solidly inter-linked with the historical documentation'.

Two points may be noted about these definitions. First, they are not mutually consistent. Sankalia's definition makes all the Indian archaeological levels between the first appearance of copper and the beginning of history—protohistoric. Sinha is concerned with only those cultures which are likely to possess some relevance to Vedic history. The Allchins are obviously in close agreement with Sinha, but prefer to restrict the geographical focus of these cultures only to the Punjab plains, the Ganga-Yamuna doab and the central Ganga basin, *i.e.* the general geographical focus of the Vedic literature. Das puts emphasis only on the chalcolithic cultures.

Secondly, none of these definitions seems to make any precise archaeological sense. Each of them seems to attach considerable significance to the factor of Vedic history ; but what is generally forgotten is that the entire mass of Vedic literary material is still uncorroborated by archaeology. Speculations apart, no literary data have as yet helped our understanding of the pre-literate cultures which are supposed to be contemporaneous with the Vedic age. The situation regarding the Harappan civilization is simple. The methodology the archaeologists have still to employ to understand this civilization is in general the methodology of prehistory. There is in fact no justification of designating the Harappan civilization as protohistoric. There is also no basis of Das' idea that historic documentation in India began with the use of iron. Iron came of age in India before the sixth century B.C., *i.e.* before the beginning of the historic period.

Archæologically, there is no positive proof of writing in India before the third century B.C.,* though it must be con-

[* This is without considering the Indus valley seals.—Ed.]

ceded on the basis of the unambiguous literary data that India, or at least a sizable portion of it, was literate in the sixth century B.C. The archæologists, in fact, take the help of literary data to analyse the levels between the sixth and third centuries B.C., though the levels themselves do not yield any positive written material.* So, perhaps the only Indian archæological horizon which may, with some justification, be called protohistoric is that dated between the sixth and third centuries B.C. But one suspects that the entire point is purely academic.

The justification of the use of any new term in any academic context should be that it carries a logically determined connotation. Any such connotation is absent in the idea of protohistory in the Indian context. The entire range of Indian prehistory from the beginning of food-production to the growth of the historic period may simply be called 'later Indian prehistory'. But if the giving up of a long-established term like protohistory is difficult, it may continue to be loosely used in this sense alone.

* [This is not strictly accurate.—Ed.]

LAST DAYS OF CĀHAMĀNA SOMESVARA

RAM SHARMA

Someśvara, the Cāhamāna prince of Sāmbhar and Ajmer, was a remarkable personality who figured prominently in the political affairs of North India during the 12th century A. D. We know that he was a son of king Arnorāja from his queen Kāñcanadevī,¹ the daughter of the Caulukya ruler Siddharāja Jayasīṃha of Aṇahilapāṭaka.² Thus he belonged to the two prominent royal houses of that time from the paternal and maternal sides. Even then he did not succeed his father immediately on the latter's death because he was the youngest son from the second queen of Arnorāja. Jagaddeva, Vigharāja and Devadatta were Arnorāja's three sons from his Chief Queen Sudhavā, so that Someśvara's succession to the throne appeared out of question ; but inscrutable are the ways of destiny, and what actually happened is all known to the students of Cāhamāna history.³ Jagaddeva committed suicide and Vigharāja became the king. He was succeeded by his son Aparagāṅgeya, on whose demise Jagaddeva's son Pṛthvīrāja II occupied the throne, while during this period Someśvara was spending his days at the Solāṅkī court in Gujarat. The gifted youth became a great warrior in course of time. The fact appears to have been narrated in the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* which says that like Hanumat leaping from one mountain to the other, Someśvara leapt from one mighty elephant to another and snatched the sword of the lord of Kumkūṇa and rendered him headless with it.⁴

1 L. B. Desai, *Cauhaṇnakulakalpadruma*, p. 28, where her name is given as Kisanadevī.

2 Dasharatha Sharma, *Early Cauhaṇ Dynasties*, p. 68.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 56-67.

4 Cf. p. 181 (VII. 15) :

He married Karpūradevī, a princess of the Kalacuri house of Tripurī, and got two sons, viz. Pṛthvirāja and Harirāja. It is clear that this matrimonial relationship of Someśvara with the Kalacuris of Tripurī added not merely to his own glory, but also to the glory of the Cāhamāna house of Sāmbhar which reached its apogee as suggested by the *Pṛthvirājaviṇaya*.⁵ Thus Someśvara had already become a very famous prince by the time Cāhamāna Pṛthvirāja II expired⁶ and the ministers of the Cāhamāna kingdom approached him with the offer of the Cāhamāna throne. Someśvara was brought to Sapādalakṣa with his family⁷ by the ministers of the Cāhamāna kingdom. So when Someśvara occupied the throne, he was not merely a reputed prince, but sufficiently experienced in warfare, advanced in age and mature in the politics of the day. With his succession as king to the Cāhamāna throne there commenced a new era of fulfilment⁸ in the Cāhamāna kingdom.

Hanumān=iva śailatas=sakailam
dvīradendrād=dvīradendram=utpatiṣṇuḥ /
churikām=apahṛitya Kumkūṇ-endraṁ
gamayāmāsa kabandhatām tay=aiva //

5 Cf. p. 182, verse 16 :

iti śāhasa-sāhacarya-caryas=
sama-yajñaiḥ pratipādita-prabhāvam /
tanayām sa sapādalakṣa puṇyair=
upayame Tripurī-purandarasya //

The name of this Kalacuri ruler is differently given as Acala by the *Pṛthvirājaviṇaya* and Tejala by the commentator Joṣarāja. He has been identified with Kalacuri Gayākarṇa or his son Nṛsiṁha (Dasharatha Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 69).

6 Cf. L. B. Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 29, where it is stated that Someśvara captured the kingdom of Delhī by removing Pṛthvībhaṭa (Pṛthvirāja II) from the throne.

7 Cf. *Pṛthvirājaviṇaya*, VIII, 58 :

ātmaśābhyām=iva yasaḥ-pratīpābhyām=iv=ānvitaiḥ /
Sapādālakṣam=ānīye mahāmātyair=mahāpatibḥ //

8 *Ibid.*, VIII, 60 ; *deśas=sampūrṇa-bhāvam ca pāvanatvam ca labdhavān.*

Someśvara built⁹ a town named after his father, erected several temples like that of the god Vaidyanātha and others and issued some new coins. Thus having been annointed¹⁰ to the throne in Vikrama 1226, Someśvara appears to have ruled till Vikrama 1234¹¹ as in the same year his son Pṛthvirāja is known to have been on the Cāhamāna throne.¹² The above is contradictory to the genealogy given at the end of the *Prabandhakośa* (p. 134), according to which Pṛthvirāja III ascended the throne in Vikrama 1236 and thus Someśvara must have died in that year. But according to Dasharatha Sharma, this could not be the correct date¹³ Now, this surmise appears to be reasonable ; but there is some information in support of the *Prabandhakośa* date as we shall see below. There is a statement in the *Pṛthvirāja Rāso*¹⁴ that Someśvara was slain in a battle with Bhimadeva II of Gujarat, which has been rightly rejected by D. Sharma as a fiction. But his conclusion that Pṛthvirāja's father died¹⁵ in Vikrama 1234 appears to be erroneous.

The conclusion is based on the Bārī inscription¹⁶ of Pṛthvirāja III, which is dated in Vikrama 1234, Caitra śu. 4 and states that Pṛthvirāja occupied the throne on the death of his father Someśvara for whom the last known inscription is the Ānvaldā epigraph,¹⁷ dated in Vikrama 1234, Bhādrapada

9 Cf. *ibid.*, verses 63-70.

10 See R. Sharma, 'Menal Inscription of Pṛthvirāja II, Vikrama 1226', *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVIII, Part VII.

11 Bhandarkar's List, No. 380.

12 Cf. Dasharatha Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

13 *Loc. cit.*

14 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 70, Para. 3 ; L. B. Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

15 Cf. D. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

16 Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 71 and 94 ; *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Fourth [sic—Ed.] Session, Jaipur, 1951, pp. 326-28.

17 Bhandarkar's List, No. 380 ; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXXV, March, 1959, No. 1, pp. 69ff. ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVII, Part VI, pp. 279ff. and Plate.

śu.*¹⁸ Śukra. In view of the fact that the son cannot precede his father, U. C. Bhattacharya¹⁹ took the Vikrama year in this case as beginning with the month of Śrāvaṇa and accordingly Pṛthvirāja III would appear to have ascended the throne sometime between Bhādrapada and Caitra of Vikrama 1234. The solution is no doubt good ; but there are difficulties in its application as pointed out by D. C. Sircar.²⁰ No equivalent for the date in the Ānvaldā record can be calculated according to Śrāvanādi Vikrama, and other dates in the Cāhāmāna records can be verified according to Kārttikādi Vikrama only, Sircar therefore considered the date Vikrama 1234 of the Bārā inscription as erroneous. Now, this possibility is supported by certain other facts to be discussed below.

Another difficulty is that the date of the Ānvaldā record has been read variously by scholars²¹ and in no case can it be equated according to the Śrāvanādi system. If the numeral for *tithi* is 4, then it can be equated only according to the Kārttikādi Vikrama, but if it is taken as 5, the details of the date are irregular. It is also difficult to agree with U. C. Bhattacharya that Śrāvanādi Vikrama was prevalent in that area since, from an examination of the dates in the records²² from the Udaypur region from where the two records in question hail, it is found that Aṣāḍhādi Vikrama should have been prevalent there in those days and not Śrāvanādi. G.H. Ojha²³ also states that the Śrāvanādi reckoning of Vikrama era became prevalent in some areas like Udaypur in later times. As the Bārā inscription states that Pṛthvirāja occupied the throne on the demise

18 The *tithi* has been variously read as 4 or 5.

19 Cf. *Proc. IHC, op. cit.*, p. 328.

20 Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 299 ff. and Plate.

21 Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 279ff. and Plate.

22 Cf. Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 477, 484-85, 583, 885-68, 917. Note the dates of the records.

23 Cf. *Bhāratīya Prācīna Lpimālā*, p. 170.

of his father Someśvara, it goes against the *Prabandhakośa* statement that Pṛthvirāja occupied the throne in Vikrama 1236. A careful examination of the date portion of the Ānvaldā record, which is carelessly engraved and damaged, shows that the numeral indicating the *tithi* has been the source of confusion. If we can read it as 8, which it can be if we overlook the extra marks added to the figure,²⁴ then the date would regularly correspond to September 2, 1177 A.D., according to the Āśādhādi system. Similarly, according to the same system,²⁵ the equivalent for the date in the second record would be March 25, 1178 A.D. Thus it would appear that Pṛthvirāja III occupied the throne after Someśvara's death between September 2, 1177 A. D., and March 25, 1178 A. D.

As regards the statement of the Bārī inscription that Pṛthvirāja occupied the throne after Someśvara had gone to heaven, it seems to us that the news of Pṛthvirāja's coronation reached the people of the locality, but that they probably did not know as to what happened to Someśvara who was presumably regarded as dead. In reality, however, it was an occupation of the throne by Pṛthvirāja not on the death of his father, but on the retirement of the latter from active life; even though the *Pṛthvirājavijaya* does not give a clear indication of his retirement, it hints how he started feeling tired of ruling and therefore placed his son Pṛthvirāja on the throne and appointed his queen Karpūradevī as regent and, being devoted to his father (?), obtained heaven.²⁶

24 If it is to be read as 9, then the equivalent will be September 2 (f.d.t. 57), 1177 A. D.

25 There are some dates which are irregular for Āśādhādi Vikrama, so that more than one system may have been prevalent there. In Gujarat, both the Kārttikādi and Caitrādi reckonings of Vikrama are in vogue these days, and while Caitrādi is considered the Śāstriya Saṃvat, Kārttikādi is called the Śuddha Gujarātī Saṃvat.

26 Cf. 8. 71-73, 87-93. The word *pitṛ*, read doubtfully in the text, may be *prabhu* or the like. Thus it seems that Someśvara retired, spent his remaining days in devotion to his father or God or something and then went to heaven.

The *Hammāramahākāvya*²⁷ of Nayaśandrasūri states that Pṛthvirāja, when fit to occupy the throne, was installed on the throne by his father Someśvara who died by practising *yoga*. From the next statement in the same work also, it becomes clear that Pṛthvirāja got the kingdom from his father and did not acquire it on the death of the latter :²⁸ "As the eastern mountain shines beautifully by the rays that it receives from the author of day, so did Pṛthvirāja shine in the royal insignia obtained from his father."²⁹

The abdication of the throne by Someśvara by having become a recluse appears to be supported by the newly discovered inscription of Bhāva-Someśvara from Menal,³⁰ which refers to the exploits of king Someśvara called Bhāva³¹-Someśvara and described as *tapo-bhītilakaḥ* obviously to indicate that he had become a recluse. The image which has been described

27 Ed. Nilakantha Janardana Kīrtane (Bombay, 1879), 2. 77 :

*S'astreṣu śastreṣu ca labdha-pāram
vilokya bhūmān = atha tam kumāram /
sāmṛjya-bhāram pravīṭṛya tasmai
yogena mārtaṁ vapur = utsasarja //*

Kīrtane says (*ibid.*, p. 17) that Someśvara installed Pṛthvirāja on the throne and went to the woods where he died by practising *yoga*.

28 Cf. *ibid.*, 2. 78 :

*pitṛa pradattaṁ samavāpya kālē
rājyaṁ sa bhūbhṅn = nitarāṁ cakāse /
ahar-mukhe = harpatin = Odayādrir =
yathā tamo-vṛṭta-vināśi-roclh //*

29 *Ibid.* Intro., p. 17.

30 This is *A. R. Ep.*, 1962-63, No. 845. This inscription when read and interpreted properly will throw more light on the career of king Someśvara. [The inscription engraved on the pedestal of the image of a *yogin* (Bhāva-Someśvara), has been published by Sadhu Ram in the *Prācyavidyā-taraṅgiṇī*, ed. Sircar, pp. 136-38 and Plate. It is interesting that the ascetic (probably a Pāśupata) is called *prāpta(sya*) rājya-śrīyam*, 'one who obtained *rājya-śrī*', but not clearly that he had formerly been a king.—Ed.]

31 Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVIII, Part VI (Menal Inscription of Pṛthvirāja II, Vikrama 1226) wherein the recluse Brahmanuni has been called Bhāva-Brahmanuni.

as that of a bearded *yogin* named Vasantamūrti has been stated to be the representation of Bhāva-Someśvara in the inscription, the date of which is Vikrama 1235, Jyestha ba. 12, probably corresponding to May 5, 1179 A.D., according to the Āṣādhādi or Kārttikādi calculation. The custom of setting up images of high dignitaries, as we have shown elsewhere,³² was popular during the age in questions. There was nothing unusual in Someśvara's following the ancient tradition of *vānā-prastha*.³³ Some other interesting details in this connection have been discussed by B. Ch. Chhabra.³⁴ However, it is noteworthy that Someśvara did not take his queen with him, but left her behind as regent to look after the affairs of the kingdom probably due to the young age of the prince. The king after having become a recluse seems to have spent some time in the famous monastery³⁵ at Menal and afterwards proceeded to holy places like Puṣkara on pilgrimage. It is, however, not clear as to how long he remained alive after the date of the Menal inscription; but the *Prabandhakosa* suggests that he lived upto Vikrama 1236 and, on his death, probably a second coronation was held to anoint Pṛthvīrāja on the throne.

The Menal inscription of Bhāva-Someśvara suggests that Pṛthvīrāja III should have been on the throne in the month of Jyestha in Vikrama 1235, when his father Someśvara was spending his days of retirement as a monk. The last known inscription of Someśvara as king is from Ānvaldā, which, as

32 Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXXVII, Part IV, p. 156 and note 1.

33 Cf. *atha sa viśaya-vyāvṛtt-atmā* (*Raghuvamśa*, 3. 70) mentioning the abdication of the throne by Dillpa in favour of his son Raghu and going to the forest along with his queen Sudakṣiṇā.

34 Cf. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 149-50.

35 This monastery was built by Bhāva-Brahmamuni during the time of Cāhamāna Pṛthvīrāja II. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVIII, Part VII, cited above.

noted above, is dated in the month of Bhādrapada of Vikrama 1234. It means that Someśvara retired sometime between Vikrama 1234, Bhādrapada, and Vikrama 1235, Jyeṣṭha, whereupon Pṛthvirāja ascended the throne. Under such circumstances, either the information supplied by the Bārā inscription about his death must be treated as wrong or its date in Vikrama 1234 should be considered as a mistake and intended for a later date possibly in Vikrama 1236.*

* [The reading of the *tithi* in the date of the Ānvalā inscription seems to be *śudh* 5 which may be a mistake for *śudh* 4. Gai points out that this epigraph engraved below the inscription of Pṛthvirāja III, dated Vikrama 1245, and concludes that Someśvara's record was engraved more than a decade after its issue so that some mistakes may have crept into it due to this fact (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 280). But the engraver was expected to engrave the document as it was, irrespective of whether it was fresh or old. Of course votive records were sometimes incised on temple walls several at a time sometime after the grants had been actually made.—Ed.]

CASTE SYSTEM IN ANCIENT CAMBODIA

I

ADHIR K. CHAKRAVARTI

Dr. Mabbet (above, pp. 5ff.), discusses the nature of the Indian caste system¹ and comes to the conclusion that in Cambodia 'the influence of the caste system seems to stop short at the exportation of some of its terminology'. In our article on this subject published earlier in Vol. IV, pp. 14ff., we pointed out that, in pre-Añkorian times, inscriptions use the word *jāti* and its derivatives only and its number is always fixed at four like the Indian *varṇa*, while in the Añkorian period, the term *varṇa* occurs in inscriptions and its number is in most cases more than four like the Indian *jāti*. It has, however, to be admitted that the characteristic features of a *jāti* in India, viz., hereditary membership, a common profession, endogamy, commensality and ideas of ceremonial purity are never found together in a Cambodian *varṇa*.

Following the argument of Bosch, Mabbett has also pointed our attention to the fact that the Indian settlers in Indo-China were numerically very insignificant and so the initiative in Indianization of the country lay in the hands of the natives

1 It may be pointed out that the view points of Hutton and Dumont are not really contradictory. While Hutton puts more emphasis on how the system evolved out of non- and pre-Aryan elements, he is categorical on the point that it was only with the introduction of gradation among the existing social groups that one can speak of the caste system as such. It therefore transpires that Hutton also considers hierarchy as the principal distinguishing feature of the caste system. Dumont, it is true, is more emphatic on the point and considers the divorce between power and status the criterion to recognize the existence or absence of the institution of castes in a given society.

who, however, often failed to understand the true import of Indian ideas and ideals and consequently applied them in an awkward fashion to the local situation. So far there can be no dispute with him. However, Mabbet, defines a Cambodian *varṇa* as 'a significant group of people as seen from the king's point of view.' The *varṇas*, according to him, were small communities comprising entire families and holy men and were generally hereditary. A *varṇa* in its collective capacity held land from the king and enjoyed the labour of the people attached to these lands. The services the *varṇas* rendered to the king consisted of ceremonial functions at the court, teaching, etc. So Mabbet thinks that there existed a patron-client relationship between the king and the *varṇas*. He also does not believe that 'to manipulate the *varṇas* was to manipulate society'. Discarding the idea of social engineering by the king, he says that, in creating and controlling the *varṇas*, the king 'was dispensing privileges and maintaining his party with bonds of obligation'.

To take up first the question of social engineering by the king. If it is admitted that the *varṇas* represented the view of society as seen from the palace, it would follow that the *varṇas* were so many units of society and there was no social group lying outside the *varṇa* distinction.² This would mean that the sum total of the *varṇas* was co-extensive with society itself. Thus in manipulating the *varṇas*, the king was in reality manipulating society as such.

A more fundamental question to ask is : What is the basis of this extensive power exercised by the king ? Mabbett is not ready to admit that the Khmer king exercised a more unfettered authority than his Indian counterpart because he united in him both religious and political power. Elsewhere we have tried to show the process of gradual deification of the person—and

2 At least the society of free men. See below.

not only of the office — of the king.³ A justification for this development may be offered here. Cambodia is an agricultural country where regular, timely and sufficient rainfall during the months of the monsoons is the most important. Therefore, the agency which professed or pretended to assure rainfall would make itself the master of life and death of the entire population, as had been the case with the authorities actually regulating water circulation in ancient Egypt, the Sumerian world and China.⁴ In ancient Cambodia, the kings claimed that, by making sacrifices, they caused rains to fall. It is said (possibly of Jayavarman IV) :

mah-āndhakāro = 'dhvara-dhūma-dhūtyāḥ
pracaṇḍa-tejobhīr = avagraho = 'bhūt |
vr̥ṣṭiḥ prakṛṣṭā vasu-danti-dānair =
*yasmin kṣītiṃ rakṣati viṣṭapānām ||*⁵

There are two inscriptions in which Yaśovarman and Jayaviravarman respectively are praised for having secured rainfall in time.⁶ It is true that a similar idea is sometimes found in Indian literature as well.⁷ It is in this light that the ceremony

3 'Divine Kingship in Ancient Cambodia : A Study in the 'Fraśastis', *Political and Administrative Systems in Ancient India* (ed. D. C. Sircar, Calcutta University, 1972), pp 90-113.

4 Karl Wittvogel, *Oriental Despotism*, [sic—Ed.]

5 Coedes, *Inscriptions du Cambodge (IC)*, Vol. I, p. 58, v. 16.

6 i. *sūtadhātri yathārthāsa patyau yatra yad = ādadhe |* [sic—Ed.]

sravatā payasā kūle prajāḥ pīna payodhrat ||

BEFEO, Vol. XXXII, p. 90.

ii. *kāle = ' bhivarṣan = dhṛta-sarvva-varṇan =*

dhanur = ddadhāro = ' ri-balaṇ = ca bhindan |

purassaro lokabhujām = bhuvam yasya

sākṣāt Sahasrākṣa = iv = āvatīrṇaḥ || (IC, Vol. VII, p. 173, v. 15).

[Read ya for yasya. —Ed.]

7 Cf. *Raghuvamśa*, I. 26, 62. For the view that rainfall is the response of gods to sacrifices offered to them and that the king is the chief sacrificer, see *Kṛtyakalpataru*, *Rājadharmakāṇḍa*, pp. 82-83; also *Bhagavadgītā*, III.9.

of *abhiṣecana* of the king is to be viewed.⁸ But the power exercised by the Khmer king in respect of rainfall is more extensive. He is said to wield the capacity of regulating rainfall. Thus it has been said of Dharaṇḍravarma I :

*dūrān = na yasy = ānya-guṇair = iv = āres =
 suvṛṣṭy-anāvṛṣṭi-kṛto viśeṣaḥ /
 dṛṣṭe payoda-svajan-ākṣi-toye
 krameṇu te hy = utkramato = py = arāteḥ //*⁹

Again, when it rained in excess, the king was supposed to be capable of stopping rain to fall or of drying up the innundated plains. Thus Rājendravarman has been eulogized in the following terms :

*samastaṁ yo = 'karod = rāṣṭram = avāṣpan = namra-bhū-
 bhṛtām /
 svasmin haras = tu sahāte śvaśure vāṣpa-vāhinīm /*¹⁰

It is his capacity of making or controlling rains that provided the *raison d'être* of royal absolutism in ancient Cambodia. For the king, nothing was impossible, at least in theory.

Mabbett's contention that the king and the *varṇas* stood in a patron-client relationship in ancient Cambodia does not stand scrutiny. In the first place, as Mabbett agrees, all land belonged to the king who used to call himself *Vraḥ Kamraten Aṇ phidaī karom* (lord of the interior soil). Inscriptions testify to the superior right of the king over all land when they record that in most cases of land transactions royal permission or at least cognizance was sought. In case any treasure-trove was found or some property fell vacant, *i.e.* had no lawful inheritor, these went to the king. Again, in exceptional cases the king could take over any property with or without

8 J. D. M. Derrett, '*Bhū-bharaṇa, bhū-pālana*, etc.', *BSOAS*, Vol. XXII, Part I, p. 126. [There is little difference between the Indian and Cambodian kings in this respect.—Ed.]

9 *IC*, Vol. VI, p. 303.

10 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 97, v. 203.

the payment of a compensation.¹¹ But for all practical purposes land was held not as a fief received from the king in lieu of a service either rendered or to be rendered to him, but as freeholds. It is true that the *varṇas* as such sometimes held land known as *varṇa-bhūmi* or *bhūmi varṇ-āśrama*. Mabbett has cited the example of two newly created *varṇas* of *Karmāntara* and *Khṃuk vraḥ kralā arcana* who were endowed with land, slaves, etc. There are at least two other similar examples.¹² But the fact remains that references to such holdings are extremely scarce when details of land transaction abound in most inscriptions. This observation is tantamount to saying that the communal mode of land-holding was not the prevailing rule. Limited as it was in practice, there are also traces of its disintegration and decay in the inscriptions. Thus in two inscriptions¹³ the sellers as well as the purchasers belonged to the same caste, viz. *kanmyāñ paṃre*. In the Sdok Kak Thom inscription, however, five persons belonging to the caste of *Karmāntara* sold the land of Anreṃ Loṅ to two foreigners named Mratāñ Chloṅ Saṃkarṣa and his son Chloṅ Mādhava.¹⁴ From these references, it will be evident that the land did not belong to the *varṇa* taken as a unit. It is likely that, at the time of the creation of a new *varṇa*, land and other property used to be vested in it as a whole, but soon afterwards the property was parcelled out among its constituent families which could dispose of such portions without any reference to the *varṇa* at all. In any case most inscriptions refer to the proprietary right over land either of the individual or of the family taken as a unit.¹⁵

11 *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 265, l. 65. [Similar conditions prevailed in India, —Ed.]

12 Land belonging to *varṇa* Vijaya (*BEFEO*, Vol. XLIII, p. 89; Vol. XXVIII, p. 68).

13 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 406.

14 4. 85-87; *loc. cit.*, p. 92.

15 A summary of our thesis entitled *L'economie sociale de l'ancien Cambodge d'apres l'epigraphie*, in which we have dealt with the problem of

Even a cursory glance over the accounts of land acquisitions over centuries contained in the inscriptions of the stele of Samron (K. 258)¹⁶ and Sdok Kak Thom would make the point clear.

Secondly, Mabbett does not consider *varṇa* to be a vocational grouping ; but if the *varṇas* held land from the king as fief, how could it be that they did not render some specific service to the king in return ? At one place he concedes that the *varṇas* 'had largely ceremonial functions at court, teaching or serving the king in various ways' ; but he seems to contradict himself when he says, "The fact that in different generations the members of a single family might pursue a wide variety of different occupations, or at least be given a variety of more or less honorary titles at court, might mean something here if *varṇas* were functionally specialized hereditary classes of the population as in India, but has little effect on our definition of the *varṇas* as they appear to have been in Cambodia." As a matter of fact, apart from the Brāhmaṇas, each person in ancient Cambodia could be—and in all likelihood, was actually—placed into two mutually complimentary groups arranged on considerations of (i) function and (ii) place of origin or work. Thus we have *varṇa* Aninditapura,¹⁷ *varṇa* Vikrānta,¹⁸ etc. But without doubt more numerous are the *varṇas* which imply a function. The most well-known *varṇa* coming under this category is the *kanmyaṅ paṅre* which comprised the following seven sub-castes :¹⁹ (i) *vraḥ vasana so*²⁰ (ii) *chmām*

land tenure, will be found in our *The Sdok Kak Thom Inscription : A Study in Indo-Khmer Civilization* (in the press).

16 IC, Vol. IV, pp. 178-89.

17 *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 175 ; Vol. V, p. 231.

18 *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 46 ; Vol. V, p. 204.

19 The Prasat Ben inscription leaves no doubt that *kanmyaṅ paṅre* is the name of the *varṇa* and the seven *varṇas* referred to in it were what may be called so many sub-castes comprised in it. Mabbett's statement in this regard requires modification.

20 *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 111-12 ; Vol. VI, p. 289.

phdam or *chmām vraḥ kralā phdam*,²¹ (i) *vraḥ khan*,²² (iv) *nā lamak*,²³ (v) *kanmyaṇ rati*²⁴ or *sevivarṇa*,²⁵ (vi) *vyajanadhara* or *vraḥ cāmara*,²⁶ (vii) *bhāgavata paṁre*.²⁷ Of the other functional *varṇas*, mention may be made of *dvārapāla* or *varṇa kandvāra*,²⁸ *varṇa chpār*,²⁹ *Karmāntara*,³⁰ *khmuk vraḥ kralā arcana*,³¹ *koṭīhoma cāmikarakāra-varṇa* or *hemakāra*,³² *caṁlāk*,³³ *cāra*,³⁴ *muṣṭiyuddha*,³⁵ etc. The significance of such *varṇa* names as *mīnapracāṇḍa*³⁶ and *hemakaraṇka*³⁷ is not known. However, it will be seen that most of the *varṇa* names given above refer to functions which have nothing to do with ceremonies at the court or teaching.* It may also be observed that the vertical division of society into functional groups and the horizontal arrangement according to the place of origin or of work are sometimes mentioned together. Thus Vap Varuṇa is described as *mūla kanmyaṇ paṁre* of the *sruk* Kañjrap Prasir while another is called *trvac* (superintendent) of the *kanmyaṇ paṁre* of the *sruk*

21 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 129-30.

22 *BEFEO*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 406.

23 *Loc. cit.*

24 *IC*, Vol. IV, pp. 182, 199 (note 3).

25 *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 125, 127 (note 1).

26 There are numerous references to this sub-caste.

27 *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 134-35 ; *BEFEO*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 68-69.

28 *IC*, Vol. IV, p. 49 ; Vol. III, p. 77.

29 *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 289, 291 ; *BEFEO*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 404-05.

30 *IC*, Vol. II, p. 64.

31 *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 49.

32 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 192 ; Vol. VII, p. 176.

33 *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 252.

34 *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 240, note 2.

35 *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 144, where the word *varṇa*, however, does not occur.

36 *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 49.

37 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 6.

* [They can, however, be regarded as attached to the king or the State in some way.—Ed.]

Thpvañ Bmmāñ.³⁸ Vap Varmaśiva has been called *Karmāntara* of *sruk* Thkval.³⁹ Again, Steñ Rauv belonged to the *varṇa* of Aninditapura and worked in the sub-caste *kanmyañ pahre na pamak* (*vyajanadhara*)⁴⁰ and the original proprietors of the *sruk* Stuk Rmmāñ were attached to the *Vikrānta varṇa* and were assigned to the *kralā laavañ*.⁴¹

Thirdly, there seems to be little reason to regard the *varṇa* affiliation as generally hereditary. There are cases where the same person has changed *varṇa* successively. Thus, under Jayavarman IV, Vrah Kamraten Añ Rājendrapaṇḍita belonged to the *kanmyañ pahre*, but was later assigned to the group (*varga*) of Maṅgalārtha.⁴² As has been explained by Coedes,⁴³ Maṅgalārtha designates a functional group and may be taken as forming a *varṇa*. Again, Sadāśiva Jayendrapaṇḍita⁴⁴ and Divākarapaṇḍita,⁴⁵ known as the consecrating priests of kings Jayavarman VI, Dharaṇḍravarman I and Sūryavarman II, were transferred to the caste of *Karmāntara*. Moreover, different members of the same family in the same generation could belong to different *varṇas*. A classic example of this has been furnished by us in our earlier study on the subject.⁴⁶ Again, the inscription of Kuk Trapan Srok shows that members of the same family could be attached to different *varṇas* in different generations. All this will have no sense if *varṇa* is viewed as a commonly hereditary institution. On the other hand, seen as vocational groups controlled by the State,

38 BEFEO, Vol. XXXVII, p. 407.

39 IC, Vol. III, p. 55.

40 Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 175.

41 Ibid., p. 46.

42 Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 110-11.

43 Ibid., p. 113, note 2.

44 BEFEO, Vol. XLIII, p. 90.

45 IC, Vol. II, p. 130.

46 Op. cit., pp. 30-31.

it is perfectly conceivable that the same person or different persons of the same family in the same or different generations belonged to different *varṇas*. Indeed blood-kinship and not appertenance to a *varṇa* was the unifying bond among the ancient Khmer people. It may also be remarked that excepting a few references to the Brāhmanas, there is nothing in the inscriptions to show that the *varṇa* status by itself lent any social distinction.

It may be noted that most examples of continuity of the *varṇa* distinction for generations come from priestly families. This fact strengthens our earlier contention that it was only the Brāhmanas who resembled their Indian counterparts to some extent, though even in them some of the important characteristics of the rigid Indian caste system like rules of endogamy, commensality and ceremonial purity were conspicuous by their absence. This rather exceptional position of the sacerdotal community *vis-a-vis* the other *varṇas* in Cambodia is due to the fact—and Mabbett admits it—that there was a truly Indian element among them. Moreover, the complex nature of the sacrificial profession and intellectual capability required for it tended to keep it limited to certain families. But not all the members of these families were appointed priests or teachers. A review of the varied vocations in which the members of the family of Steṅ Rauv engaged themselves⁴⁷ or the restrictions regarding the appointment of teachers from among the members of the *Karmāntara* and *khmuk vraḥ kralā arcana* in the Kompon Thom inscription⁴⁸ would drive the point home.

It is not established that *varṇa* in ancient Cambodia signified a group which held land from the king as a community, that it was not a functional grouping, and that its member-

47 IC, Vol. VII, pp. 175-77.

48 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 64.

ship was commonly hereditary. On the other hand, a *varṇa* was a division of society based on functions and was placed in different localities. Membership of these *varṇas* was neither necessarily nor even generally hereditary. Land and persons attached to it were enjoyed by individuals or families as freeholds with royal condescension rather than as fiefs. Any person could be transferred by the king to any *varṇa* which act, however, did not entail any material loss to the individual concerned who continued to enjoy his property as before.

Attention may be drawn to Mabbett's interpretation of certain terms. In the first place, the term *varṇ-āśrama* as occurring in the inscription of Prasat Srane has been understood by him as a 'designation of the community of priests or learned men under the authority of Vāgīśvarādhipativarman'. Even then it cannot be denied that the expression has been used in a very special sense. But what is more important is the fact that the Kaṁsteñ Añ Vāgīśvarādhipativarman, the auditor (*stāp vartamāna*) was a *sabhāpati* of the first category (*nā eka*).⁴⁹ As such, he was a government officer. To regard the priestly community residing at the *āśrama* as subordinate to this officer will be doing little credit to it.* Though in many inscriptions the *stāp vartamāna* is a responsible temple-official,⁵⁰ he is not so in the present inscription and may very well be regarded as the person entrusted with the exploitation of the estates of the *āśrama* called Bhadreśvaranivāsa so that the priestly community could meet the expenses of the foundation. Seen from this point of view, the term *varṇ-āśrama* could refer only to the free men cultivating the lands of the *āśrama* since the slaves (*khñum*) had no juridical personality and therefore could not be a party to any contract.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 48.

* [There is probably nothing unusual if such was the case.—Ed.]

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 111 ; Vol. VI, p. 165.

With regard to the second inscription⁵¹ where the term *varṇ-āśrama* occurs in a restricted sense, Mabbett does not see any promotion of the people of Vap Mau. The whole transaction, according to him, 'looks like part of the operation of a feudal system in a fairly strict sense' since the king was only exercising his right over land to bestow it to another favourite. But what he fails to see is that, so long as Vap Mau and his family were settled on the land of Vibheda, they were described as *anak Kamsteñ Śrī-Mahīdharavarman*, i. e. the people depending on the Kamsteñ. In other words, the king had feudal overlord-baron relationship with this latter, while Vap Mau and his family were reduced to the position of serfs. When the king installs his family on the land of Raṅgol, it no longer retains its status of serfs, but is elevated to the position of free tenants. True, strictly speaking, it was a feudal operation ; but that does not invalidate the contention that the status of the family of Vap Mau underwent a change for the better, which explains its assignment to *varṇ-āśrama*.

In the appellation of *varga* to *Khṃāp* and *Añcen* in the inscription of Prasat Lak Nan,⁵² Mabbett finds 'a local community' 'disposing of land in exactly the same way as are *varṇas* in many other inscriptions ; it is as if the terms were interchangeable'. As a matter of fact, *varga khṃāp* signifies 'group of cutters (*kāp*, to cut *khṃāp*) and is thus the name of a functional group. The inscription actually mentions the *khloñ jñval khṃāp* (chief of the salaried persons of the section of cutters). *Añcen*, on the other hand, is a toponym as may be deduced from the analogy of *Jenñ Añcen* occurring in the inscription of Vat Damnak.⁵³ This again would reinforce our contention that society in ancient Cambodia was divided on consi-

51 *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 61.

52 *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 103

53 *Ibid.*, p. 163.

derations of function and place of origin or of work. For groupings of both these types, the terms *varṇa* and *varga* have been used. The term *varga*, however, was more commonly used in connexion with geographical groupings.⁵⁴ It appears that, after the reorganization of the *varṇa* system effected by Sūryavarman I, a *varga* comprised the functional groups of certain neighbouring localities and was placed under the control of one individual after whose name the *varga* came to be known. In one inscription of Bantay Prav⁵⁵ dated 1002 or 1012 A. D., the Kāmsteṅ named Śrī-Narapatindravarman offered some slaves to a Śivaliṅga. These slaves he received from many people among whom figure those forming his *varga*. They include Vap Nos of Pralāy, Vap A..., *pradhāna* of the country (*sruk*) of Karel, Vap In of Jaroy and Vap Teṅ of Gajapura who held the office of *khloṅ jṇval smeṇa dep*.⁵⁶ In another inscription from the same place, we learn that the same Kāmsteṅ received slaves from some others of his *varga*. These are named as Loṅ Vrai Krapās Vyādhapura (*i.e.* the dignitary holding the title Loṅ and stationed at the locality called Forest of Cotton in [the district of] Vyādhapura) and Vap Go of Sthalā Ji who was *mūla kanmyaṅ paṅre*.⁵⁷ In still another inscription from Bantay Prav,⁵⁸ the *varga* of the Kāmsteṅ comprised *khloṅ vala Rudrapada*, an individual from the mountain (*anak vnaṅ*), the chief of merchants in the service of the king (*khloṅ jṇval vaṇik*) and the chief of the regiment (or of the department of

54 Cf., e.g. Varga Śreṣṭhapura (*ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 104); Varga Dhruvapura (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 143); Varga Vyādhapura and Varga Amoghapura (*ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 143-44); Varga Vairāṭa (*ibid.*, p. 143), etc.

55 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 57-61.

56 *Smeṇa*, derived from *seva*, seems to signify servants and *dep*, if it is related to modern *toeup*, may stand for 'recent', i.e. junior. The whole expression may thus mean chief of the salaried people of the section of junior servants.

57 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 61-64.

58 *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 226-27.

forced labour) who was also the chief of the district of Vyādhapura (*khloñ vala khloñ viṣaya Vyādhapura*).

For the use of *varga* to signify a vocational group, reference may be made to the inscription of Prasat Khtom.⁵⁹ In the determination of the *varṇa* status of *Vrah Kamraten Añ Rājendrapandita*, the inscription states that, to begin with, he was assigned by Jayavarman IV to the corps of young servants (*kanmyañ pañre*) which is well known as a *varṇa* designation. But later he was transferred by Sūryavarman I to the *Maṅgālārtha-varga*. According to the translation of Coedes, he even became its *mūla*.^{59a} There is, however, nothing in the inscription to suggest that the various Rājendrapanditas belonged to one and the same family. Indeed what Mabbett presumes in this respect has been taken by him as an established fact the very next moment.

Notice should also be taken of Mabbett's opinion regarding the use of the term *mūla*. Coedes long ago observed the different usages of the word in Khmer inscriptions.⁶⁰ It is used to signify proprietary right over land,⁶¹ headship of a clan⁶² or family⁶³ and origin.⁶⁴ It is well known that the first twenty members

59 *Loc. cit.*

59a *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 123, note 2 ; see also *BEFEO*, Vol. VI, p. 75 ; Vol. XXV, p. 396. From the reference to many Rājendrapanditas, the hypothesis may be hazarded that it was a title given to all the subsequent *mūlas* of the Maṅgālārtha *varga-varṇa* in the twelfth century A.D.

60 *IC*, Vol. IV, p. 148, note 4.

61 Cf. such expressions as *śūnyamūla* (Sdok Kak Thom, 4. 14) or *nir-mūla* (Prasat Trapan Run, B, 1. 39, *BEFEO*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 68) ; also stele of Vat Samron, *IC*, Vol. VII, p. 131. For similar use of the word in India, see Derrett's article on *Svatva* in *Z. V. R.*, 1962.

62 Prasat Khtom inscription, *loc. cit.*

63 *BEFEO*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 400, 402, 404,

64 *Tintīqimūla* and *Puṣpamūla* are the names of the sellers of plots of land in Prasan Vrai and Rmmyat (*Inscriptions sanskrites de Campa et du Cambodge*, No. XVIII, p. 156).

of each of the two newly created *varṇas* of *Karmāntara* and *kḥmuk vraḥ kralā arcana* are called *mūla*.⁶⁵ But the appellation *mūla* has been given to later members of the *varṇas* as well.⁶⁶ It will be seen that the term *mūla* did not indicate a hierarchical position in the *varṇa* division, but was nevertheless a recognition of some sort of distinction. It is possible that the *mūlas* were descended from the original families constituting a *varṇa* group, and in every generation only one from each such family, still practising the profession assigned to the *varṇa*, was given this status. But the *mūla* was not necessarily the head of the family. Thus the Prasat Ben inscription⁶⁷ mentions the *mūlas* of the family of Steṇ Rauv from the time of Jayavarman II to the reign of Sūryavarman I. But only two of the names mentioned in this list, viz. Mratāñ Khloñ Narapatīndrāditya and Śuciṣat are found in the genealogical table of the family prepared by Coedes.⁶⁸ It will be absurd not to find the names of the *mūlas* in this table had they really been heads of the family. On the other hand, since the *mūlas* are listed according to reigns,⁶⁹ it may be that the distinction of *mūla* was conferred by the kings which by the way would go to show the extent of royal control in the determination of *varṇa* status and the distinction of individual in its fold. It will be seen that, since the *varṇa* division had a twofold character, viz. functional and territorial, the *mūlas* are also sometimes mentioned with

65 *Loc. cit.*

66 Coedes is not quite correct to say that the term *mūla* is applied in the inscription of Prasat Car (northern pier) to any member of the corporation of *muṣṭiyuddha* (IC, Vol. IV, p. 148, note 4). As a matter of fact, Vāp Go is called a *mūla*; but Vāp Amṛta and Vāp Jas who were members of his family (*kule*) are not given this appellation.

67 IC, Vol. VII, p. 177.

68 *Ibid.*, facing p. 164.

69 *Loc. cit.*

the precision of functions⁷⁰ and localities,⁷¹ or combining both the principles.⁷²

Before concluding this discussion, an attempt should be made to clarify certain misunderstandings. First, in summing up the position taken by us in our article on the Cambodian *varṇas*, Mabbett makes it appear as if we wrote, "there were at least ten castes into which society was divided." But simple calculation would show that the number from the Kompon Thom inscription should be at least twelve (seven *varṇas* from which the members of the two new *varṇas* of *Karmāntara* and *khmuk vraḥ kralā arcana* were recruited + three high *varṇas* of the people of the principal *sañjaks* holding parasols with golden shafts + the two new *varṇas*). As a matter of fact, we stated that the three good *varṇas* of the *sañjaks* holding parasol with golden shaft 'are to be contrasted with an unspecified number of ordinary *varṇas*'.⁷³ Secondly, there is a little mistake in his understanding of our statement regarding the people who were eligible to take the womenfolk of the *varṇas* of *Karmāntara* and *khmuk vraḥ kralā arcana*. The people of the *sañjaks* who were 'candidates for parasol with golden shaft' were forbidden to take their women.⁷⁴ Thirdly, though Khmer inscriptions generally mention groups of people with relations to some establishment or person,⁷⁵ it is in no way clear why the expression *Devipurasthajanatā* in the inscription of Prāh Ko

70 Cf. *mūla kanmyāñ pañre* (Prasat Kok Po, pier V, *loc. cit.*); *kule ta mūla nā barṇṇa vraḥ cāmara* (IC, Vol. IV, pp. 106-67); *mūla chmām vraḥ kralā phdam* (*ibid.*, p. 113), etc.

71 Cf. *mūla Rlāñ Dyañ* (*ibid.*, pp. 178-80); *mūla ta Isāna* (*ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 95-96); *mūla Cak Svāy* (*ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 135), etc.

72 Cf. *mūla kanmyāñ pañre* sruk Kañjrap Prasir (Prasat Kok Po, pier V, *loc. cit.*); *mūla muṣṭiyuddha* sruk Gañryañ (Prasat Car, northern pier, *loc. cit.*), etc.

73 *Loc. cit.*, p. 25.

74 IC, Vol. I, pp. 189-94, v. 16.

75 Cf. *anak Bhadrapañṇana* (*ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 89).

should not be taken to mean people living at Devipura. Here emphasis is clearly on the geographical aspect of the description. In the sense Mabbett likes to understand it, the text should have given something like *vinaya-kula-bāndhavāḥ* in place of *Devipurastha-janātā*.

II

I. W. MABBETT

My article is published (above, pp. 4ff.) in its unrevised state, not as it was intended to be. I was unable to take advantage of Mr. Chakravarti's valuable comments.

This is not the place to engage in any detailed analysis. Clearly, Mr. Chakravarti's careful study of Khmer epigraphy contributes much to our understanding of terms such as *varṇa*, *varga*, *mūla*, and perhaps *varṇ-āśrama*. May be, however, it may still be questioned whether the basic contention of my article should be discarded : namely, that, in creating, maintaining and manipulating *varṇas*, Cambodian rulers were not thereby displaying totalitarian authority over the whole of society—engaging in social engineering.

Three points may be briefly offered :

1. We are entitled to question how far the tidy Indian-style categories used by the Brāhmaṇical composers of the inscriptions reflect an equally orderly and ordered social reality. Cambodian society may have been as autonomous, diffuse and difficult to govern then as it was in the nineteenth century. Statements that groups of people were arranged or placed in one way or another are as likely to be descriptive as prescriptive.

2. We are also entitled to question whether the population figuring in the inscriptions is usefully to be thought of as

a total population consisting of all ranks of society, or whether the people, who donate quantities of land and slaves for pious purposes, have dealings with the king, receive appointments from him, and so forth, are just a narrow élite. If the latter is the case, then the fact that the king creates and manipulates groups of them need not mean that he exercises totalitarian power.

3. It remains difficult to resist the impression that the functions designated by the names of the *varṇas* are largely ceremonial or honorary. The *varṇas* are not agricultural villages or groups of agricultural landlords, as we might expect if they were groups of the population at large ; they are mostly ranks of people with appointments round the court. Many of these appointments may have involved actual work, such as painting, guarding doors, waiting on royalty, and the like ; but, where they are not anyway ambiguous, the *varṇa* names accord with the description of them as partly ceremonial appointments carrying dignity and honours. To say that a king created and controlled *varṇas* need thus mean only that he created and controlled royal appointments.

Therefore the evidence about *varṇas* seems to offer little positive help to the thesis that, whereas Indian rulers had ritually confined powers, their Cambodian counterparts were politico-religious despots.

I am grateful to Mr. Chakravarti for his comments, and to the *Journal of Ancient Indian History* for the opportunity to add this postscript to my article.

ENDOWMENTS IN FAVOUR OF EARLY BUDDHIST MONASTERIES IN BENGAL AND BIHAR

SM. PUSPA NIYOGI

Fa-hien in the 5th century A.D. noticed the prosperous condition of the monasteries in Indian territories and 'of considerable real property and assets held by them'. He adds that 'the kings of these countries, the chief men and householders, have raised *vihāras* for the priests, and provided for their support by bestowing on them fields, houses and gardens with men and oxen.' These grants were embodied, as mentioned by Fa-hien, in title-deeds which 'were prepared and handed down from one reign to another'; 'no one', he says, 'has ventured to withdraw them, so that till now there has been no interruption'.¹ Fa-hien clearly states that this was, in fact, the general custom all over India—'in all places this is the case'.²

Less than three centuries later, I-tsing visited some of the monasteries of Northern India and reported that 'the Indian monasteries possess special allotments of land'.³ About the monastery of Nālandā in particular, I-tsing states, 'The land in its possession contains more than two hundred villages. They have been bestowed upon the monastery by kings of many generations'.⁴ The testimony of Hwui-li is also on similar lines. He says that 'the king of the country respects and

1 *Si-yu-ki*, p. xxxviii ; Legge, *The Travels of Fa-hien*, p. 43.

2 *Loc. cit.*

3 *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, trans. Takakusu, p. 193.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 65. In the 13th century, the Nālandā monastery was financially helped by king Buddhasena of Bodhgaya and a rich lay Brāhmaṇa named Jayadeva (Roerich, *Biography of Dharmasvāmīn*, p. xx).

honours the priests' and refers to the remission of the revenue of about hundred villages in favour of the convent. He further speaks of private donations received daily from two hundred householders in these villages, the total amounting to several hundred piculs (1 picul being equal to $133\frac{1}{2}$ lbs) of ordinary rice together with several hundred catties (1 catty=160 lbs) in weight of butter and milk.⁵

Feeding of priests was regarded as a sacred duty as Hsuen-tsang says. Thus the king of 'Central India' undertook to provide food for 'forty priests of the congregation everyday' in grateful memory of the founder of the Nālandā Saṅghārāma.⁶ In fact, there could be no stable foundation for a monastery without permanent endowments. We learn from a Chinese account that a *Mahārāja* called Śrīgupta, identified by some with the founder of the Gupta family, built a temple for Chinese priests in North Bengal and, for its maintenance, endowed it with revenue of about twenty villages. This monastery was intended to encourage Buddhist studies by foreign scholars.⁷

Epigraphic evidence is available regarding grants of land in favour of Buddhist monasteries and establishments, the income from which was earmarked for meeting the cost of daily worship with fruits, flowers, incense and lamps including the expenses of clothes, medicines, etc., reading and copying of manuscripts, upkeep of the monastery, various comforts of the revered Bhikṣus, etc. Here a few details regarding allot-

5 Beal, *Life of Hsuen-tsiang*, pp. 112-13. We are told that king 'Dharmapāla endowed the university [of Vikramaśīla] with rich grants sufficing for the maintenance of 108 resident monks besides numerous non-resident monks and pilgrims' (Vidyabhushan, *Hist. Ind. Log.*, p. 519). The grants are left unspecified.

6 Beal, *Travels of Hsuen-tsiang*, Vol. III, pp. 384-85; cf. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 165; *Si-yu-ki*, Vol. II, p. 170.

7 *Si-yu-ki*, p. x.

ments of land may be given in brief. Thus the Jagadishpur copper-plate grant of the year 128 (447-48 A. D.) records a small gift of land jointly by two individuals in favour of a Buddhist *vihāra* at Gulmagandhika in North Bengal (Bangladesh).⁸ The Gunaighar plate of Vainyagupta records the gift of 11 *pāṭakas* of land to the Āśrama-vihāra to be used for specified purposes.⁹ The Ashrafpur plate (A) records Devakhaḍga's grant of 9 *pāṭakas* and 10 *droṇas* of land. Plate (B) records a gift by prince Rājarāja, which consisted of 6 *pāṭakas* and 10 *droṇas* of land to the monastery of Saṅghamitra.¹⁰ The Rātas of Samatata, as known from the Kailan inscription of king Śrīdhārāṇa, granted $4\frac{1}{8}$ *pāṭakas* of land dedicated to the *Bhagavat Tathāgataratna* (Buddha) or *Ratna-traya* for similar purposes for the *Ārya-saṅgha* (Buddhist monks).¹¹ The copper-plate of king Bhavadeva, issued from Devaparvata, records the grant of $7\frac{1}{4}$ *pāṭakas* of land in favour of the *Ratna-traya* of the Veṇḍamati-vihārikā which seems to have been named after the locality in which it was situated. This land was granted together with *udraṅga*.¹² The Nālandā copper-plate of the reign of Devapāla records the assignment of the revenue of five villages in favour of the monastery built at Nālandā by Bāla-putradeva, king of Sumatra, for the maintenance of monks and the copying of manuscripts.¹³ The Buddhist monastery in the village of Bejakhaṇḍa at Paṭṭikerā received 20 *droṇas* of land, as recorded in the copper-plate grant of Raṇavaṅkamalla Harikāla-deva.¹⁴

8 *VRM*, Vol. I, No. 1, 1972, p. 32.

9 *IHQ*, Vol. VI, 1930, pp. 55ff.

10 *MAI*, No. 1, pp. 85ff. : cf. B. C. Sen, *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal*, pp. xvii-xviii.

11 *IHQ*, Vol. XXIII, 1947, pp. 221ff.

12 *JAS*, Letters, Vol. XVII, 1951, pp. 89ff.

13 *Ep. Ind*, Vol. XVII, pp. 310ff.

14 *IHQ*, Vol. IX, p. 222.

The evidence cited above from other sources seems to support Fa-hien's picture of the prosperity of Buddhist monasteries. The resident monks were free from any pecuniary worries specially because they also received additional gifts of all sorts from the people. Everywhere the resident priests had their chambers furnished with beds and mattresses and were liberally provided with food, drink and clothes.¹⁵ From Fa-hien we learn that, when the priests received their normal dues, these were supplemented by offerings made by prominent persons as well as individual householders including Brāhmaṇas. It is interesting to note that priests also presented gifts to one another.¹⁶ Hiuen-tsang says in his account of Nālandā that they were so abundantly supplied with clothes, food, bedding, medicines, etc., that they needed no further help. In the opinion of this pilgrim, they were thus generously helped to promote the cause of learning to which they were devoted.¹⁷

Monasteries also contained gardens in which fruits and flowers required for their every day use were grown. Sometimes gifts of a special nature were made in favour of monks. Thus the Nālandā stone inscription of the reign of Yaśovarman records that the son of the minister of the said king, Mālāda, came to Nālandā, made some offerings to the resident monks and donated for their use an abode (*layana*) on the bank of the stream.¹⁸ From the account of Dharmasvāmin we learn that a rich man named Jayadeva 'erected a seat adorned with precious stones, which had a curtain called *sa-ha-li* (protection against mosquitoes)'. Dharmasvāmin says that most of

15 *Si-yu-ki*, p. xxxviii.

16 *Ibid.*, p. xxxix.

17 Beal, *Life*, p. 112.

18 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 237. Mālāda gave to the assembly of monks everyday ghee, curd and rice with various preparations, and also pure and perfumed water as well as a lamp.

the wealthy people were obliged to honour the Buddha in a similar manner.¹⁹

In this way monasteries came to own lands, villages, pasturage, cattle, etc., for the maintenance of their resident Bhikṣus. Big monasteries with their own property of various kinds were able not only to attain self-sufficiency, but were also in a position to extend their power and influence in their respective localities.

No question of individual ownership was involved. The property was to be held entirely on a collective basis (*i. e.* by the Saṅgha as a whole). According to the *Vinaya-piṭaka*, tilling was prohibited for a Buddhist monk personally for his own sake; but he was allowed to till for the Saṅgha. A share of the product was to be reserved for the monastic servants and others including their families, by whom the land was actually tilled. The produce of the land was to be divided into six parts, of which one should be levied by the Saṅgha. The Saṅgha must provide the bulls for tilling the land, but had no other responsibility. Sometimes the division of the product was to be modified according to the seasons.²⁰

It appears that this system of tilling of the soil and distribution of shares of the produce meant for the intermediaries, did not always give satisfactory results due to the people's greed and dishonesty. Hence the responsibility was taken up by the priests themselves who got everything done through their own employees, male and female.²¹

While describing the activities of the Bha-ra-ta monastery at Tāmralipta, I-tsing²² gives us some details about monastic property. He noticed some tenants waiting in a compound outside the monastery dividing vegetables into three portions, one

19 Roerich, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-91.

20 Cf. Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 61.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 62. [Read 'Pradīpa' for 'Pradipā'.—Ed.]

of which was being presented to the priests and the remaining two thirds kept apart for themselves I-tsing was unable to understand what all this meant and asked Mahāyāna Pradīpā to explain it. The latter replied that, according to their sacred doctrine, which they strictly followed, Buddhist priests were not allowed to cultivate land themselves. Hence they had to arrange for its cultivation by others who got two-thirds of the produce as their lawful share. It is to be noted that there is a discrepancy in his accounts with regard to the share of the priests. The priests, who supplied bulls, got one-sixth, while those of the monastery situated in Tāmralipta, which is specially mentioned, got one-third, which is higher than the former rate. It may be assumed that the Tāmralipta organisation also supplied bulls required for cultivation. It is not unlikely that, out of what they got from the actual tiller, some portion had to be set apart for the domestic servants of the monastery also. Rates may have varied in different localities.

Hiuen-tsang records an interesting story about Śīlabhadra. He is described as a member of the royal family of Samatapa ; he received the gift of a city from its king (*i.e.* the assignments of the revenue derived from it) as a reward for his success in a religious controversy with a renowned scholar from the south, in which he took part as a pupil of Dharmapāla. He is said to have built a monastery near the Gunamati monastery out of the gift, and made a permanent endowment in its favour out of the assigned revenue.²³

23 Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 110 ; *Si-yu-ki*, Vol. II, p. 110 ; Beal, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 340-42. There is difference of opinion among scholars regarding the correct interpretation of the statement, 'and endowed it with the revenues of the town'. Julien understood it to mean 'that Śīlabhadra gave the inhabitants of this city as slaves to his monastery' (Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 110) Watters refers to it as 'the revenue derived from the city'. Beal says, 'Of the houses of the town, I understand it to mean that the revenues of the Saṅghārāma were derived from the rentals of the place, not that the people or the inhabitants were bound to the service of the priests' (*Travels*, Vol. III, p. 342, note 59). It is clear from the above that the vast and magnificent monastery built by Śīlabhadra was maintained out of the revenue of the gift land or villages.

INDOLOGICAL NOTES

D. C. SIRCAR

14. *Kaliṅga-Mahiṣak-ādhipati*

The Prakrit inscription from Guntupally in the West Godavari District of Andhra Pradesh belongs to the Mahāmeghavāhana king Sada who is described as *Kaliṅga-Mahiṣak-ādhipati* (*Kaliṅga-Mahiṣak-ādhipati*). i.e. the lord of both the Kaliṅga and Mahiṣaka countries. While editing the inscription in the *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. III, pp. 30ff., we drew attention to the mention of Mahiṣaka and observed, "For the various locations of the Mahiṣa or Mahiṣaka country, see N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 120. None of the theories, however, locates the territory near Kaliṅga."¹ It now appears that the views quoted are not adequate.

Prakrit *Mahiṣaka* – Sanskrit *Mahiṣaka* seems to be identical with the kingdom of *Mahimsaka* mentioned in the works of Pali literature, e.g., *Samkhapāla*² and *Bhīmasena*³ *Jātakas*. It was situated near Mt. Candaka, and the Bodhisattva lived there in a hermitage standing at the bend of the river Kanṇa-panṇā (Kṛṣṇavarṇā or Kṛṣṇavenvā) where it left Lake Saṅkha-pāla. Arjuna of the Mahimsaka country (cf. Arjuna of Māhiṣmatī) ruled from the city of Keka and king Sakuḷa from a city named after himself and situated near Lake Manusiya. The *Bhīmasena Jātaka* mentions the Bodhisattva as living for sometime in the Mahimsaka country in his birth as Cūla-Dhanuggaha-paṇḍita (Kṣudra-Dhanurgraha-paṇḍita). Mahimsaka is also mentioned in a few other works of Pali literature.

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 31, note 2.

2 *Jātaka*, Vol. V, No. 524.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, No. 346.

Thus the *Sam̐mohavinadani*⁴ mentions it as an example of a country which experienced frequent cold waves.⁵

C. S. Gupta identifies the river Kaṇṇapaṇṇā, running through the Mahimsaka country, with the Pengaṅgā or Paingaṅgā⁶ which rises near the eastern boundary of Khandesh at lat. 20° 31' 30", long. 76° 2' and, flowing through Berar for about 200 miles generally in an easterly direction, falls into the Wardhā river on the right side, at lat. 19° 53' 20", long 79° 11' 30".

It may, however, better be identified with the Waingaṅgā (Veṇvāgaṅgā) which rises in the Seoni District (Madhya Pradesh) at lat. 22° 25', long. 79° 8', passes through the Bhandara and Chanda Districts and joins the Wardhā at lat. 21° 51', long. 79° 39' to fall into the Godāvarī, through the joint Waingaṅgā-Wardhā course (known as the Prāṇhitā) at Sironcha at lat. 18° 51', long. 80° 1'. One has to note that the first part of both the names Pengaṅgā (Paingaṅgā) and Waingaṅgā is equivalent to Beṇvā or Veṇvā. It is also well known that the Kanhan, which runs through the Bhandara District and joins the Waingaṅgā on the right side at lat. 21° 5', long. 79° 40', is identified by some writers with the Kanhabeṇṇā (Kṛṣṇavenvā) mentioned in the Hāthigumphā inscription of the Kalinga king Khāravēla.⁷ Thus there are several rivers in the above region that have names associated with Beṇvā (Veṇvā) or Kṛṣṇavenvā. Since, however, the name of Mt. Candaka (Sanskrit *Candrika*), associated in literature with the Mahimsaka or Mahiṣaka country, reminds us of the name of the Chanda District through which the Waingaṅgā passes and which lies to the immediate north of the East Godavari District that must have formed a part of the ancient Kalinga country, it is better to

4 PTS, p. 4.

5 Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, Vol. II, p. 582.

6 *Dharmadīpa*, Nagpur, No. 8, pp. 72, 77.

7 Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, 1965, p. 225, text line 4.

identify Mt. Candaka with the Chanda hills and to locate the Mahimsaka (Mahiṣaka) kingdom of Pali literature about the present Chanda District of Maharashtra.

Thus the Jātaka literature helps us in locating a Mahimsaka or Mahiṣaka country as lying in the immediate neighbourhood of the country of Kalinga.

15. *The Yavanas and Mathurā*

It is well known that the Greeks, called 'Yavana' in Indian literature (although the word was later used to indicate any foreign people), became rulers of the old Achæmenian empire of Western Asia in the latter half of the fourth century B. C. and that Bactria in Northern Afghanistan was a province of the West Asian empire governed by Yavana viceroys till the middle of the third century B.C. when the Bactrian Greeks founded an independent kingdom. This Yavana kingdom of Bactria became powerful, and soon its kings not only became the rulers of considerable parts of Western and North-Western India, but even succeeded in spreading their political influence over a much wider area of Northern India.⁸ As will be seen below, there is early evidence of Mathurā's contact with the Yavanas apparently of Bactrian origin ; but as yet there is no

8 See Sircar in *The Age of Imperial Unity*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, pp. 101 ff. Cf "The Greeks who occasioned its (Bactria's) revolt became so powerful by means of its fertility and advantages of the country that they became masters of Ariana and India, according to Apollodorus of Artemita (c. 130-87 B. C. according to Tarn). Their chiefs, particularly Menander (if he really crossed the Hypanis to the east and crossed the Isamus), conquered more nations than Alexander. These conquests were achieved partly by Menander, partly by Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, king of the Indians." "Of the eastern parts of India, then, there have become known to us all those parts which lie this side of the Hypanis (Vipāśā), and also any parts beyond the Hypanis of which an account has been added by those who, after Alexander, advanced beyond the Hypanis, as far as the Ganges and Pali-bothra (Pāṭaliputra)." See Strabo quoted by Majumdar, *Classical Accounts of India*, pp. 257, 286.

evidence of their rule at Mathurā for any considerable period of time or of the inclusion of Mathurā in the Yavana kingdom established by the Indo-Bactrians in the Punjab-Sind region. It is interesting to note in this connection that the early coins of Mathurā do not exhibit Yavana fabric and devices and that the Śaka Satrap Rañjuvula (c. 1-15 A. D.), who originally ruled somewhere in the region to the west of U. P. and issued coins with Greek fabric and devices and Greek and Kharoṣṭhī legends, began to issue coins of the indigenous Mathurā fabric, with legend in Brāhmī, after the establishment of his power at Mathurā.⁹

There are two well-known passages associating Mathurā with the Yavanas, one in the *Yugapurāṇa* section of the *Gārgī-saṁhitā* and the second in the Hāthigumphā inscription of king Khāravela of the Kalinga country in the coastal region of Orissa and Andhra Pradesh. While describing the Yavana or Bactrian Greek invasion of Northern India as far as 'the city of flowers' (i.e. Puṣpapura or Pāṭaliputra, the Maurya capital identified with modern Patna in Bihar) in the east, the *Gārgī-saṁhitā* has the following stanza—

tataḥ Sāketam—ākramya Pañcālān—Mathurāṁ tathā |

Yavanā duṣṭa-vikrāntā prāpsyanti Kusumadhvajam | |

which says that the Yavanas would reach Kusumadhvaja (either Puṣpapura or in its neighbourhood) after having invaded or seized or subdued Sāketa, the Pañcāla country or people and Mathurā.¹⁰ This invasion was very probably led by Demetrius, son of Euthydemus of Bactria, and took place shortly after the death of Śāliśuka about 200 B. C. It is well known that the Yavanas had to leave U. P. and Bihar after

9 Cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 134 and note.

10 Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 106-07; also Sircar in *JRAS*, 1963, pp. 4ff. If it is believed that *Pañcālāt* is changed to *Pañcālān* in *sandhi*, the Yavanas are here represented as having subdued Sāketa and Mathurā from their base in Pañcāla.

some years owing partly to the onslaughts of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga and partly to the struggle of Demetrius for the recovery of the Bactrian throne which, in the mean time, had been usurped by the Bactrian Greek chief named Eucratides. The exact position of Mathurā during the few years of Yavana occupation of parts of U. P. and Bihar about the beginning of the second century B.C. cannot be determined with the help of the meagre information provided by the *Gārgī-saṃhitā*.

The Hāthigumphā inscription in the Udayagiri hills near Bhubaneswar in the Puri District of Orissa, which was issued by king Khāravela of Kāliṅga probably about the close of the first century B.C., has the following passage in line 8—

etnā ca kaṃmapadāna-saṃnādena... sena-vāhane vipamucituṃ Madhuraṃ apayāto Yavana-rāja Dīmīta which may be rendered into Sanskrit as—*etena ca karm-āpadāna-saṃnādena (duṣkara-karma-sampādāna-śabdena) senā-vāhanaṃ [bhayāt] vipramoktuṃ Madhuraṃ (Mathurāṃ) apayātaḥ (palāyitaḥ) Yavanarājaḥ Dīmītaḥ*.¹¹

This seems to suggest that the successful military exploits of Khāravela in the Patna-Gaya region of Bihar caused terror in the mind of the Yavana king who fled to Mathurā to reassure his forces there. The passage may imply that the Yavana king was leading an expedition against some region to the east of Mathurā from his base at the said city. It may also suggest that the Yavana king's army was afraid to fight with Khāravela's forces and that is why he fled to distant Mathurā which was his capital. However, the evidence of Rañjuvula's coins, referred to above, would probably go against a lasting association of the Greeks with Mathurā.

There is a controversy about the date of Khāravela and the identity of the Yavana king. Some scholars think that

11 See Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, 1965, p. 216.

Khāravela flourished in the first half of the second century B.C. and that *Yavanarāja* Dīmīta was no other than the Bactrian king Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, while others, who are inclined to assign Khāravela to the last quarter of the first century B.C., regard Dīmīta as a later Indo-Greek ruler of the Eastern Punjab.¹² In any case, it appears, as we have indicated above, that Mathurā was under the temporary occupation of the Yavana king.

Recently we have come across some literary references to a Yavana king's association with Mathurā very probably alluding to the occupation of the place by an Indo-Greek ruler. The Prakrit expression *Jaūna-rāya* (*Yavana-rāja*) is noticed in the early Jain work *Nīlīthasūtra* and his association with Madhurā (Mathurā) is found in its commentary called *Cūrṇi*. The date of neither of the works is definitely known, though the *Sūtra* may be assigned roughly to the age of the Imperial Guptas and the tradition in both the works appear to be borrowed from some earlier source.

The verse and commentary, both in Prakrit, run as follows :

“para-pakkho u sa-pakkhe bhāito jai hoi Jaūna-rāyā u |
 taṃ puṇa atisayaṇṇi dikkhaṃti vikāraṇaṃ nātūṃ | | ”
 “para-pakkho sa-pakkhe duṭṭho jahā Madhurāe Jaūna-rāyā |
 akkhāṇagaṃ jahā jogamaṅgahesu |
 evaṃ atisayaṇṇi jati uvasaṃto to dikkhaṃti |
 aṇuvasaṃto eseṃ bhayaṇā |
 anatisato na dikkhaṃti |
 dikkhaṃti vā avigāriṇaṃ nātūṃ ”¹³

The interesting passage in the commentary is—*para-pakkho sa-pakkhe duṭṭho, jahā Madhurāe Jaūna-rāyā* which stands for Sanskrit *para-pakṣaḥ sva-pakṣe duṣṭaḥ yathā Mathurāyāṃ*

12 *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 213ff.

13 *Nīlīthasūtram* with *Cūrṇi*, ed. Amar Chandra and Kanhaiyalal, Agra, Vol. III, verse 3689.

Yavanarājaḥ. This may be rendered into English as—"A partisan of the enemy is a false friend at one's own side just as the Yavana-rāja proved to be at Mathurā." The episode alluded to in the *Niśithasūtra* commentary is unknown to us, but must have been well known to the Jain authors from some recorded tradition. It appears, however, to refer to a Yavana king who was a partisan of the enemy of the king of Mathurā, but was accepted on the latter's side, for which the Mathurā king had to suffer. It will be interesting if more details of the lost story can be traced in other works in the vast field of Indian literature. In the absence of any corroboration, it will no doubt be unwise to identify the Yavana king mentioned in the above story with the Yavana-rāja known from the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela, though that is not altogether improbable,

Early Jain tradition seems to be persistent in associating Mathurā with a Yavana king even though it may be, at least in part, due to a confusion between *Jaūṇa* (Yavana) and *Jaūṇā* (Yamunā), the river on which the city of Mathurā stands. A Jaūṇa (Yavana) king of Mahurā (Mathurā) is stated to have assassinated a monk named Daṇḍa in a park called Jaūṇāvaṇṇika (Yamunāvakra) and later on became a monk himself. The story is alluded to in the *Āvaśyakaniryukti*,¹⁴ *Āvaśyakacūrṇi*,¹⁵ *Āvaśyakavṛtti*¹⁶ by Haribhadra, *Bhagavativṛtti*¹⁷ by Abhayadeva, and *Maraṇasamādhi*.¹⁸ See also *Prakrit Proper Names* compiled by Mehta and Chandra and edited by Malvania, Vol. I, p. 267 (where *Jaūṇa* is perhaps wrongly Sanskritised as Yamuna); Vol. II, p. 590 (where the king is correctly mentioned as a Yavana). Although it is difficult to be sure on

14 Vijaydan Suri Jam Series, Surat, verse 1277.

15 Rishabhdeo Keshrimal, Ratlam, Vol. II, p. 155.

16 Agamoday Samiti, Bombay, p. 667.

17 Agamoday Samiti, Bombay, p. 491.

18 Agamoday Samiti, Bombay, verse 465.

the point, the same story of the Yavana occupation of Mathurā seems to be reflected in the different Jain commentaries so that the Yavana king mentioned here may be the same as the ruler referred to in the *Niśīthacūṛṇī*. A king of Mathurā, by name Jaūnasena (Yavanasena) is mentioned in the *Viśeṣāvaśya-kabhāṣyaṇṭī*¹⁹ by Koty-ācārya, He may be the same ruler.

16. *The Brahmapaivarta Purāṇa and the Vaidya Community of Orissa.*

Although the *Brahmapaivarta Purāṇa* is an old work, its present text must have been composed in Eastern India about the fourteenth or fifteenth century A.D.²⁰ There is a story in it which associates the Vaidya community indirectly with the Godāvarī river, i.e. probably with the present East and West Godavari Districts in the coastal areas of Andhra Pradesh.²¹ According to the story, a Brāhmaṇa's wife was enjoyed by the god Aśvinikumāra, son of the Sun-god, when she was on a tour of pilgrimage, and gave birth to a son who later became the progenitor of the Vaidyas. On her return home with the child, she told the story to her husband, but the angry Brāhmaṇa drove the woman and her child out of his house. The woman then performed penances and turned herself into the river Godāvarī—*sarid=babhūva yogena sā ca Godāvarī smṛtā*, We are further told that Aśvinikumāra then taught his son the science of medicine and various arts and spells. The Brāhmaṇa son of the god also learnt astrological calculations and took

19 Rishabhdeo Keshrimal, Ratlam, p. 294.

20 Al Birūnī mentions the *Brahmapaivarta* about 1030 A. D. (Sachau, *Alb. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 131). It mentions the Jolā (Persian *Julāhā*) i.e. the community of Muhammadan weavers. (I. 10. 12f). This community could not have been formed in East India before the Muslim conquest of the thirteenth century A.D.

21 I. 10. 123ff.

fees for his predictions, so that he became known as an astrologer fallen from the *dharma* of the Vedas. Scholars generally regard the Vaidya and Ganaka of the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* as two different communities ; but as we shall see below, there is an East Indian community that follows the profession of both the physician and the astrologer.

The text of the *Purāṇa* runs as follows :

putraṁ cikitsā-śāstraṁ = ca pāṭhayāmāsa yatnataḥ |
nānā-śilpaṇ = ca śāstraṁ = ca svayam sa Ravinandanaḥ ||
Vipraś = ca jyotir-gaṇanād = vetanāc = ca nirantaram |
veda-dharma-parityakto babhūva gaṇako bhuvī||

The word we have quoted in the second half of the first stanza as *śāstra* is found in some manuscripts as *śastra* or *mantra*.

The above story represents the Vaidyas as low class Brāhmaṇas with the profession not only of the physician, but also of the astrologer. These Vaidyas cannot be identified with the Vaidya community of Bengal who call themselves Ambaṣṭha (though regarded as Śūdra by the Brāhmaṇas), claimed the status of the Vaiśya in the eighteenth century and only recently claimed the status of the Brāhmaṇa. The Bengal Vaidyas are also only physicians and do not adopt other professions like that of an astrologer. The question of the Ambaṣṭha Kāyasthas of Bihar does not arise in this connection because they are never called Vaidya and represented as physicians. Moreover, the Ambaṣṭha is separately mentioned in the said *Purāṇa*²² as born of the union of the Brāhmaṇa and the Vaiśyā.

The Vaidyas of the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* cannot also be identified with the Vaidyas of Tamilnadu and Kerala, who are additionally called Paṇḍita and Ambaṣṭha and follow the professions not only of a physician, but also of a priest and barber. We have elsewhere suggested that the crystallisation of the physician community of Bengal into a caste was due, very considerably,

22 I. 10. 18. This Ambaṣṭha may be the Ambaṣṭha Kāyastha.

to the influx of South Indian Vaidyas, called Ambaṣṭha (and also Paṇḍita), into Bengal during the age of the Pālas who were matrimonially connected with the South and of the Senas who themselves migrated to Bengal from Kaṇṇāṭa in South India.²³ There is no doubt that adventurers from the South flocked at the court of the South Indian Senas just as Muhammadan adventurers from all over the world rushed to the courts of the Muslim kings of India during the medieval period.

It seems to us that the Vaidya community mentioned in the *Brahmavalvarta Purāṇa* is really the degraded class of Brāhmaṇas called Vaidya or Paṇḍita and living in the Ganjam District of Orissa and its neighbourhood. Their name Paṇḍita connects them with the Vaidya-Ambaṣṭha-Paṇḍitas of Tamilnadu and Kerala, even though they do not claim to be Ambaṣṭhas, and they are apparently a link between the Vaidyas of South India and those of Bengal. South Indian ruling families and settlers are more numerous in Orissa than in Bengal, so that it is difficult to say whether the Orissan Vaidyas moved to Orissa for settling there or are the remnants of a group that were moving towards Bengal. In any case, we had no information about the Vaidyas of Orissa when we wrote about a Vaidya of the Śaṇḍilya-gotra named Daṇḍapāṇidatta mentioned in a Bhubaneswar inscription of 1218 A.D. and observed that, among the Vaidyas of Bengal, the Dattas belong usually to the four *gotras*, viz., Kauśika, Kāśyapa, Śaṇḍilya and Maudgalya.²⁴ Even now our information about the Vaidya-Paṇḍitas of Orissa is confined to the *Madras Census Report* of 1901 and Thurston's *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*. We have as

23 See *Stud. Soc. Adm. Anc. Med. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 109ff. For their name Paṇḍita, cf. Thurston, *Tribes and Castes of Southern India*, p. 53. Cf. also our 'South Indians in Bengal' in *Social Life in Ancient India*, ed. Sircar, pp. 110ff.

24 Cf. *Stud. Soc. Adm. Anc. Med. Ind.*, op. cit., p. 120; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 234 and note.

yet no information about their family-names and *gotras* ; but whatever is known about them would suggest that they are the people referred to in the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*.

The *Madras Census Report*, referred to above, represents the Vaidya, (spelt *Boyidyo*) as, literally, a physician and as a sub-caste of the Paṇḍita (spelt *Pandito*). Thurston's work²⁵ also emphasises that there is really no difference between the Paṇḍita and the Vaidya, since the same people is called Paṇḍita in the Ganjam region, but Vaidya elsewhere.

The Paṇḍita is represented in the said *Madras Census Report* as the name of an Oriya caste of astrologers and physicians. It is stated that they wear the sacred thread, and accept drinking-water only from the Brāhmaṇas and Gaudas. Again, the Gaudas are mentioned in the *Madras Census Reports* for 1891 and 1901 as the great pastoral caste of the Ganjam Oriyas. We are told that like those of all the cowherd classes such as the Idaiyan of Tamiḷnadu, its members say that they are descended from the Yādava tribe in which Kṛṣṇa was born. The majority of the Gaudas are cultivators, though evidence is supposed to prove that their traditional occupation was the keeping and breeding of cattle.²⁶ Thus the low-class Brāhmaṇa community of the Paṇḍita astrologers and physicians take water from the Gauda cowherds. It is interesting to note in this connection that the water of the 'Sollokhondia' (one of the fourteen subdivisions of the Gaudas) is taken by all Oriya castes including the Brāhmaṇas, though these latter do not accept water from the Brāhmaṇas of Telugu or Tamil origin.

The Vaidya-Paṇḍitas engage Brāhmaṇas for their ceremonies. They do not drink liquor, but eat fish and mutton though not beef and fowl. They have the designation 'Khadi-kāra' because, in making astrological calculations, they write

²⁵ Vol. I, p. 255.

²⁶ *Ibid*, Vol. VI, p. 53.

figures on the floor with *khaḍi* or 'chalk'.²⁷ In respect of this profession, they resemble the astrologers of North India who are degraded Brāhmaṇas called Ācārya as well as Grahaviṣṭra, Māga and Śākadvīpiya.²⁸

17. *Further Observations on the Skandar and Siyān Inscriptions.*

I am thankful to Dr. Asim K. Chatterjee for drawing my attention to the following stanzas of the *Harivaṃśa* (II. 125-31 and 37), the second half of the former and the first half of the latter reminding us of verse 1 of the Skandar inscription (above, p. 4) :

- (1) *yo Viṣṇuḥ sa tu vai Rudro yo Rudraḥ sa Pitāmahaḥ |*
ekā mūrtis=trayo devā Rudra-Viṣṇu-Pitāmahāḥ | |
- (2) *kartṛ-kāraṇa-kartārau kartṛ-kāraṇa-kārakau |*
bhūta-bhavya-bhavau devau Nārāyaṇa-Maheśvarau | |

Unfortunately, there is not much help in respect of the difficult second stanza of the Skandar inscription although there is reference to *agni* in verses 34-35 of the same section of the *Harivaṃśa*, which run as follows :

Agnim = Agniḥ paraviṣṭas = tu Agnir = eva yathā bhavet |
tathā Viṣṇum praviṣṭas = tu Rudro Viṣṇumayo bhavet ||
Rudram = Agnimayaṁ vidyād = Viṣṇuḥ Som ātmakaḥ
smṛtaḥ |
Agni-Ṣom-ātmakaṁ c = aiva jagat sthāvara-jaṅgamam | |

Because there are Arabic writings on the back of both the slabs of the Siyān inscription, my original impression was that the people responsible for the construction of the Dargah, in which the slabs have been found, cut the inscribed stone into two halves in order to engrave two Arabic inscriptions on their reverse (cf. p. 42) ; but my friend Dr. Z. A. Desai who has now studied the Arabic writings and whom I had the

²⁷ *Loc. cit.*

²⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 95.

opportunity of meeting at the Bangladesh History Congress held at Dacca on the 12th, 13th and 14th May, 1973, informs me that, like the Sanskrit record, an Arabic inscription dated 1220 A.D., had been originally incised on the reverse of the entire slab which was later cut into two parts and that, in this process, about four Arabic words were cut off. When I receive better impressions of the Sanskrit writing on both the slabs, it will be easy for me to determine the size of the stone lost in the process of cutting the original slab into two because the record is written in verse and the loss of syllables in Sanskrit stanzas can be easily determined.

Another interesting fact I learnt from Dr. Desai is that the Siyān Arabic inscription records the construction of a Muslim religious establishment earlier than the present Dargah and that it is the earliest Muslim record so far discovered in these parts. It proves the inclusion of Rāḍha in the Muslim kingdom in the first quarter of the thirteenth century A. D.

REMARRIAGE OF WOMEN IN THE MAHĀVASTU

ASIM KUMAR CHATTERJEE

Among the Smṛti texts, at least two¹ recommend the remarriage of women.* The oft-quoted verse of the *Parāśara-smṛti* runs thus :

naṣṭe mṛte pravrajite klībe ca patite patau |

pañcasv=āpatsu nārīṇāṃ patir= anyo vidhiyate ||

The fact that in the well-known story of Nala and Damayanti, recorded in the *Mahābhārata* (III, Chs. 52ff.), there is a reference² to the heroine's proposed second *svayamvara* shows that remarriage was very much in vogue in ancient India.** In Damayanti's case, the first condition laid down by Parāśara and Nārada, i. e. *naṣṭa* (lost), was fulfilled. The story of four consecutive marriages³ of Mādhavi, the daughter of king Yayāti, for a limited period, also proves that remarriage of women was a well-known practice. In the historical period, we have the story of Candragupta II's marriage with Dhruvadevi, the wife of Rāmagupta, recorded in Viśākhadatta's sixth-century play entitled *Devicandragupta*. The story of a king's romance and marriage with the wife of a merchant told in the Jain *Harivaṃśa*⁴ (8th century) of Jinasena II also proves that, even as late as 783 A.D., remarriage of women was practised.⁵

1 Parāśara, IV. 30; Nārada, XII, 97. * [Cf. S. Bandyopadhyay, above, pp. 98-101.—Ed.]

2 III. 70. 24ff. ; see also III. 74. 81.

3 *Mbh.*, V, Chs. 116ff.

** [Cf. Śi:ā's suspicion that Lakṣmaṇa would obtain her after Rāma's death (*Rām.*, IV. 59. 17).—Ed.]

4 See my paper on the Jain *Harivaṃśa* in *Early History and Culture of the Jains*, ed. D. C. Sircar, pp. 100ff. (p. 104).

5 See also A. K. Chatterjee, above, Vol. III, p. 153.

None of the five conditions laid down in the above-quoted Smṛti verse is, however, fulfilled in this case.

Recently we have come across a passage in the Sanskrit Buddhist text *Mahāvastu*,⁶ probably a pre-Christian work,* which supports the verse, quoted above. According to this passage, after the departure of Siddhārtha from Kapilavastu,** both Devadatta and Sundarananda approached Yaśodharā individually and demanded her hand. Each of them addressed her in the following words : *mama bhrātā pravrajito, āgaccha mama agramahiṣī bhaviṣyasi*, "my brother has become a recluse ; come and be my chief wife." We have already seen that, among the five conditions for remarriage, *pravrajyā* is conspicuous by its presence. Yaśodharā, it is needless to say, politely declined the offer of her brothers-in-law. But the passage in question definitely goes against the orthodox explanation of the stanza quoted above.⁷

6 Ed. R. G. Basak (Calcutta, 1964), Vol. II, pp. 96-97 ; ed. Senart, Vol. II, p. 69.

* [The nucleus of the work may be as old as the 2nd century B.C. ; but it was enlarged in the 4th century A.D. or later. It mentions Hūṇi, Cīna-bhāṣā, Cīnalipi and Horā-pāṭhaka. See Winternitz, *HIL*, Vol. II, p. 247.—Ed.]

** [Kapilavāstu.—Ed.]

7 Cf., e.g., *Parāśarasmiṭi*, Ārya Śāstra (Calcutta) ed., p. 13.

DATE OF THE GORĀKUI INSCRIPTION

I

KAMALAKANTA GUPTA

Janab Muhammad Abu Talib, Assistant Professor of Bengali, Rajshahi University, published an article on the stone inscription in Bengali characters discovered in 1967 at Gorākui in the Dinajpur District, Bangladesh, in the pages of the Bengali daily *Ittefāk* of Dacca, dated the 3rd Māgha, 1377 B.S., together with a photographic illustration. He was kind enough to show me a photograph of this small inscription during the session of the Bangladesh History Congress held at Dacca from the 12th to the 14th May, 1973.

Janab Abu Talib reads the date of the inscription occurring in lines 8-11 in the concluding part of the epigraph as the 17th Māgha of the Śaka year 920, *i. e.* about 998 A. D. The forms of the letters as well as the numerals used in the record, however, appear to be of a much later period than the close of the tenth century A. D. Moreover, the Arabic word *tārikh* (found as *tarikha* in the penultimate line of the inscription) also suggests that the inscription must belong to the period of Muslim rule in Bengal.

The date portion of the Gorākui inscription has been read by Janab Abu Talib as follows :

- 8 ...Sama
- 9 Varmmāra Saka
- 10 920 tarikha
- 11 17 Māgha (/+)

We are, however, inclined to read lines 9-11 as follows :

- 9 Rumakara Sakara
- 10 920 tarikha
- 11 17 Māghasya (/+)

Rumakara seems to mean 'of Rumaka (*i.e.* Ruma or Rome)' indicating the Khilāfat of Turkey so that the Muhammadan era or Hijrī Sāl is indicated here. The word *Saka* (*Śaka*) here does not mean the Śaka era, but *abda* or year only.

The Khalifa of the Muslim world was known in Bengal as the Pādsha of Rūm (Rome) and the Muslims as Turuk (Turk). So, in the early part of Muslim rule in Bengal, the expression *Rumakara Śaka* might well mean the Musalmānī or Hijrī year.

Thus in our opinion, the Gorākui inscription bears the date—*Rumakara Sa(Śa)kara 920 tarikha 17 Māghasya, i.e.* the 17th of Māgha in Hijrī 920. This date falls in the early part of the 16th century, *i.e.* during Muslim rule in Bengal, and explains clearly the presence of the Arabic word *tarikha* (*tārikh*) and also the late forms of the characters of the inscription.

The combination of Hijrī era with the Bengali month in the date is no absurd peculiarity. Such things as month in one system and year in another are noticed in innumerable documents during the Muslim and early British periods in this part of the country.

II

D. C. SIRCAR

Sometime in 1972, Janab Muhammad Abu Talib met me at the advice of Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji for my opinion on the date of the Gorākui inscription. I supported Prof. Chatterji's doubt that the date cannot be so early as Śaka 920 (998-99 A.D.) since the characters of the inscription are late medieval.

At the 3rd Annual Conference of the Bangladesh History Congress held at Dacca on May 12-14, 1973, Janab Abu Talib was willing to read a paper on the said inscription at the morning session on May 13, of which I happened to be the President,

and Sri K. K. Gupta was also prepared to place his views on the subject, which he had previously published. Unfortunately, Janab Abu Talib's paper could not be read at the session owing to some technical difficulty ; but he was kind enough to hand over to me a photograph of the interesting inscription, which I am publishing here for the benefit of scholars.

As regards the controversy between Janab Abu Talib and Sri Gupta on the date of the Gorākui inscription, I have no doubt that Sri Gupta is right in considering the year as A. H. 920 which corresponds to the period from the 25th February, 1514 A.D., to the 14th February, 1515 A.D. The palæography of the epigraph fully supports this dating. The 17th of Māgha in that year seems to have fallen on Saturday the 13th January, 1515 A.D.

However what Sri Gupta reads as *maka* in *Rumakara* seems to me to be *mī*, *ka* in *Sa(Śa)ka* in the following word being totally different although the occurrence of different forms of the same letter in the same document is not altogether improbable. But it has to be emphasised that, even without any qualifying expression, the word *śaka*, as attested by epigraphic records, may indicate any era not excluding the Hijrī.¹ Apart from the fact that the Muhammadans were often mentioned as 'Śaka',² the word *śaka* or *śāka* in the sense of 'a year' or 'an era' is not only found in expressions like *Vikrama-śaka* or *Vaikrama-śāka* (i.e. year of the Vikrama era),³ *Śālivāhana-śaka* or *-śāka* (i.e. year of the era of the Śaka named Śālivāhana)⁴ and *Rāja-śāka* (i.e. year of the era of the king),⁵ but

1 Cf. Monier-Williams, *Sans.-Eng. Dict.*, s. v. *Śāka*.

2 See, e.g., Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions, Nos. 598, 926 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 44.

3] Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 707, 1067:

4 *Ibid.*, No. 1005. For Śālivāhana represented as a Śāka king, cf. No. 1028.—*Śāka-vanśasya Śālivāhana-bhūpateḥ*.

5 It was counted from the coronation of Śāivājī in 1674 A. D. and was

could also be used to indicate any other reckoning besides the Śaka era as already indicated above. Thus we have expressions like *śaka-kartṛ*, 'founder of an era',⁶ *tasminn — eva śake*, 'in that very year of the era',⁷ etc. Note also that the years of the Malla era, used by the Malla kings of Bishnupur (West Bengal) and counted as 101 years behind the Bengali Sāl,⁸ are often called Śakābda. Years 949 (1643 A.D.), 961 (1655 A.D.), 962 (1656 A.D.), 964 (1658 A.D.) and 978 (1672 A.D.) of the Malla era are all introduced as 'Śakābda' in the Bishnupur inscriptions⁹ though the year 983 (1677 A.D.) is represented in an epigraph at one place as 'Śāka' and elsewhere as 'San' while the date of another record of 1758 A.D. is quoted in the years of both the eras mentioned as 'Mallābda' and 'Śakābda'.¹⁰

The Hijrī era is indicated in the Sanskritic inscriptions of India by different names such as Tājikiya-saṁvat (era of the Tājika or Arab people),¹¹ Rasula-Mahammada-saṁvat (era of Prophet Muḥammad),¹² San,¹³ etc. In the sense of an era or a

also called *Rājyābhīṣeka-śaka*. See Sircar, *Ind. Ep.*, p. 307; *Ind. Ep. Gloss.*, s. v.

6 See Monier-Williams, *loc. cit.*

7 Cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 1067, in which the date 1874 *Vaikrame śake S'uci-śukla-navamyām Som-ānvitāyām* is followed by the dates *tasminn — eva śake Bhādra-kṛṣṇa-navamyām S'ukle*, etc.

8 See Sircar, *Ind. Ep.*, p. 314.

9 Sircar, *Studies in the Medieval Inscriptions of Eastern India*, Appendix to Section II.

10 *Loc. cit.*

11 Cf. legend on certain coins of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, minted at Lahore (Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, p. 19).

12 See the Veraval (Junagarh District, Gujarat) inscription of 1264 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 146, text line 2).

13 See the Ghosikunḍī (Monghyr District, Bihar) inscription of 1553 A.D. falling in the reign of Islām Shāh (*ibid.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 199, text line 1). The date was alternatively assigned to the Faslī era; but that is wrong because the Faslī was instituted by Akbar ten years later in 1563 A.D. Sircar, *Ind. Ep.*, p. 310).

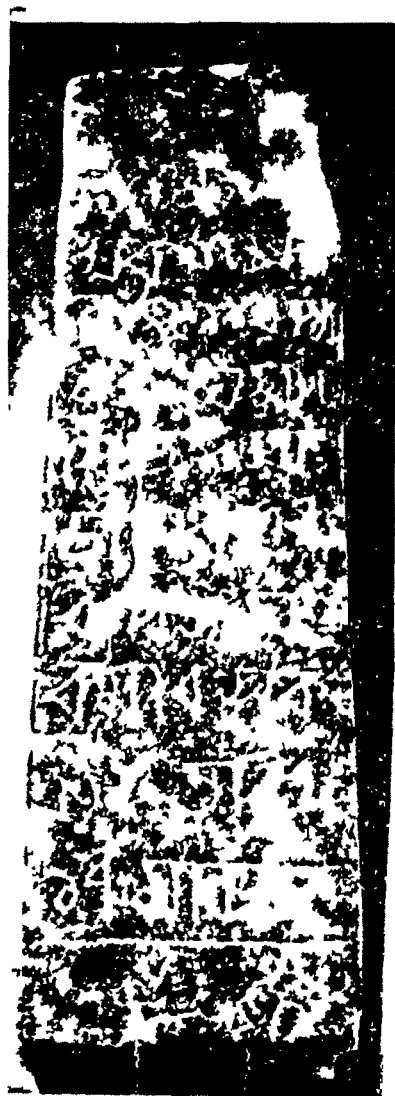


Fig. 1. Gorakhi Inscription (p. 181)



Fig. 2. Avestan Inscription from Central Asia (p. 313)

year of an era, *Saṃvat* and *Śaka* (and *San* also) are synonymous terms.

As regards the reading of the passage in question, the word read as *tarikḥ* can possibly be read as *tārīkh*. I am not sure about *sya* after *Māgha*.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

TANTRASĀRADHRTĀ DHYĀNAMĀLĀ

D. C. SIRCAR

The late medieval work, entitled *Tantrasāra* by the great Tāntric *sādhaka* Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa Bhaṭṭācārya of the Vārendra Brāhmaṇa family of the Maitras of Maṇḍaljānī, is the most popular Tāntric encyclopædia of Eastern India. Its first printed text was a 'Vaṭṭalā' edition which was full of misprints and other defects. A better edition, together with a Bengali translation, was later published by Rasikmohan Caṭṭopādhyāy. Although not at all free from errors, this edition was printed from time to time by different agencies with slight modification here and there. Prasannakumār Śāstrī re-edited the work and succeeded in removing many of the mistakes. None of the old editions of the *Tantrasāra* is now available in the market with the exception of the publication of the Vasumatī Sāhitya Mandir, Calcutta. This is because the early editions were ousted from the field by the learned edition (with Bengali translation) prepared by Pañcānan Tarkaratna and Vireśnāth Vidyāśāgar and published by the Vaṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta, in B.S. 1334 (1928 A.D.). There are of course some mistakes in the text and translation of this edition; but many of them have been corrected in the Errata. Unfortunately, the Vaṅgavāsī Press ceased to function within a few years after the publication of the *Tantrasāra* which soon became out of print, and the only edition of the work now available in the market is the Vasumatī publication which is in two parts and is in its eleventh print. Unfortunately the Vasumatī edition hardly contains anything of importance that is not found in the Vaṅgavāsī edition, not excluding its errors. We have consulted

both the Vaṅgavāsi and Vasumatī editions, the first marked here as A and the second as B.

The Vaṅgavāsi edition of the *Tantrasāra* is based on a few valuable manuscripts, one of which is stated to have been copied in Śaka 1580 corresponding to 1658-59 A.D. The dates of some other copies of the work have been read as Śaka 1554 (1632-33 A. D.), Śaka 1568 (1646-47 A. D.) and Śaka 1601 (1679-80) A. D.), though we had occasion to point out that the reading of the third figure in the first of the three dates found in a manuscript in the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta, appeared to us doubtful.¹ The *Tantrasāra* contains quotations from Rāghavabhaṭṭa² who wrote the *Padārthādarśa* commentary on the *Sāradātīlaka Tantra* in 1493-94 A.D. as well as from Pūrṇānanda Paramahansa's *Śrītattvaśīlāmaṇi*³ composed in Śaka 1499 (1577-78 A.D.) and from the *Tantrakaumudī*⁴ composed by Maithila Devanātha at the court of king Malladeva Naranārāyaṇa (1555-87 A.D.) of Kāmtā. The above indications would suggest that the *Tantrasāra* was composed not much earlier, than the middle of the first half of the seventeenth century A.D. This has, however, to be reconciled with another piece of evidence. Kṛṣṇānanda, author of the *Tantrasāra*, was the sixth in ascent from Rāmatoṣaṇa Vidyālaṅkāra who composed the *Prāṇatoṣaṇi Tantra* in Śaka 1742 (1820 A.D.).⁵ If Kṛṣṇānanda was Rāmatoṣaṇa's great-grandfather's great-grandfather, and if one generation is counted as covering about 25 years, the six generations in question would cover about 150 years so that the composition of the *Tantrasāra* may be assigned roughly to 1670 A.D., i.e. to the third quarter of the seventeenth century

1 *The Śākta Pīṭhas*, p. 80.

2 A, p. 16 *et passim*.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 155.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 374.

5 *The Śākta Pīṭhas*, pp. 77ff. (see p. 80).

A.D. In order to lessen the gap between the date suggested by this evidence and the other indicated by evidences discussed above, we have elsewhere said, "It may not be improbable that Kṛṣṇānanda flourished in *circa* 1595-1675 A.D. and composed the *Tantrasāra* in the earlier part of his life. In any case, however, there is no doubt that the *Tantrasāra* was composed by the great Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgiśa Bhāṭṭācārya sometime in the seventeenth century."⁶

When we were studying the *Tantrasāra* in connection with our work entitled *The Śākta Pīṭhas* (1948) quarter of a century ago, we realised that the large number of *dhyānas* of various gods and goddesses quoted in the book from older treatises may be of some interest, like any Śilpaśāstra text, to the students of Brāhmaṇical iconography in general and, in particular, to scholars interested in the iconographic ideas of the Tāntric Hindus who borrowed some of their conceptions from the Buddhist Tāntrics. The present monograph is the result of the said feeling which was working in our mind for a long time even though the work could not be readily taken up because we were busy with various other undertakings while the labour involved in the study and classification of the *dhyānas* was considerable.

Now the iconographic matter found in the *dhyānas* quoted in the *Tantrasāra* (and in a few cases also elsewhere in the work) is placed in the hands of students interested in the subject and we shall be happy if it proves to be of any use to them.

As mentioned above, the *dhyānas* appearing in the *Tantrasāra* seem to be all quoted from earlier works, though reference to the works quoted is quite specific and clear only in some cases and, at many places, the names of more than one authority are mentioned in the passage preceding the intro-

6 *Ibid.*, p. 80.

duction of a particular *dhyāna* so that the exact position is difficult to determine. We have mentioned the name of the earlier work whenever it has appeared to us that the *dhyāna* has been cited as quoted from it, even though it may be doubtful in a few cases. The largest number of the *dhyānas* were quoted from another Tāntric encyclopædia entitled *Nibandha*, the full title of which is apparently *Nibandha-mahā-tantra* (in 4 Kalpas and 33 Paṭalas) noticed by Theodor Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Part II, p. 64.

I. *Akṣobhya*

See under *Tārā*.

II. *Acyuta*

See under *Vīṣṇu-Śrīkṛṣṇa*

III. *Ananta*

See under *Guhyakālī*.

IV. *Annapūrṇā*

1. Called *Nityā*. Regarded as *Bhairavi*.

Tapta-kāñcana-varṇ-ābhām bāl-endu-kṛta-śekharam /
nava-ratna-prabhā-dīpta-mukutām kumkum-āruṇām //
citra-vastra-paridhīnām saphar-ākṣīm tri-locanām /
suvarṇa-kalas-ākāra-pīṇ-onnata-payodharām //
go-kṣīra-dhām-dhavalām pañca-vaktram tri-locanam /
prasanna-vadanām Śambhum nilā-kaṇṭha-virājitam //
kapardinām sphurat-sarpa-bhūṣaṇām kunda-sannibham /
nṛtyaṇṭam - anīṣām hṛṣṭam dṛṣṭv - ānandamayīm parām //
s-ānanda-mukha-lol-ākṣīm mekhal-ādhyā-nitambinīm /
anna-dāna-ratām Nityām Bhūmi-Śrībhyām - alaṅkṛtām //
(A, p. 367 ; B, p. 239)

N.B. A = Vaṅgavīsī edition ; B = Vasumaṭī edition. Ref. *Jñānārava*. V. 1. *mekhal-ādhyām nitambinīm*.

Nityā, who is engaged in the distribution of food (*anna*) and has Bhūmi (the goddess of earth) and Śrī (the goddess of

fortune) at her sides, has the lustre of burnt gold, her complexion being red like saffron. She wears the crescent on the head, a crown sparkling with the lustre of nine kinds of gems and a waist-band. She is glad at the sight of the dancing Śambhu (Naṭarāja) who has white complexion, three eyes, five faces, blue throat (Nilakaṇṭha), snake-ornaments and matted hair. His complexion resembles the colour of the *kunda* flower.

N.B. Śrī is the same as Lakṣmī and Śambhu the same as Śiva. For Lakṣmī and Bhūmī, see under *Viṣṇu-Śrīkṛṣṇa*.

2. Called *Bhagavatī*. Regarded as *Bhuvaneśvarī*.

Raktām vicitra-vasanām nava-candra-cūḍām =
anna-pradāna-niratām stana-bhāra-namrām /
nṛtyantam = Induśakalābharaṇām vilokya
hṛṣṭām bhaje Bhagavatīm bhava-duḥkha-hantrīm //

(A, p. 173 ; B, p. 109)

N.B. Ref. *Kalpa* and *Nibandha*.

Bhagavatī, who is engaged in the distribution of food (*anna*) and is of red complexion, has the crescent on her crest and is bent at the weight of her breasts. She is glad at the sight of the dancing Crescent-ornamented god (Śiva Naṭarāja).

V. *Ambikā*

1. Regarded as *Bhuvaneśvarī*.

Śindūr-āruṇa-vigrahām tṛi-nayanām māṇikya-mauli-spu-
raṭ-
tārānāyaka-śekharaṁ smita-mukhīm = āpīna-vakṣoruhām /
pāṇibhyām maṇi-pūrṇa-ratna-caṣakam rakṣ-otpalam vibh-
ratīm
saumyām ratna-ghaṭastha-savya-caraṇām dhyāyet parām =
Ambikām //

(A, p. 168 ; B, p. 106)

N.B. Ref. *Nibandha*.

Ambikā is red like the colour of vermilion and has three

eyes, her head being adorned with rubies and her crown with the moon. She has a smiling face and her breasts are highly developed. She holds a bejewelled drinking vessel full of gems in one hand and a red lotus in the other. Her face is benign, and she stands with her left (*savya*) foot on a jar of gems.

2. Regarded as *Mahālakṣmī*. See *Lakṣmī* and *Mahālakṣmī*.
 Bāl-ārka-dyutim — indu-khaṇḍa = vilasat-koṭīra-hār-ojjva-
 lām
 ratn-ākālpa-vibhūṣitām kuca-natām śāleḥ karair = mañja-
 rīm /
 padmaṁ kaustubha-ratnam — apy — aviratam sambibhratīm
 sasmitām
 phull-āmbhoja-vilocana-traya-yutām dhyāyet parām = Am-
 bikām / /
 (A, p. 223 ; B, p. 144)

N.B. Ref. *Nibandha*.

Ambikā is red like the rising sun. The crescent adorns the garland around her crest. She wears bejewelled ornaments all over her body and is bent at the weight of her developed breasts. In her hands, she holds a cluster of *śālī* blossoms, a lotus and the jewel called *kaustubha*. She has a smiling face and three beautiful eyes.

N.B. Ambikā is a popular name of Śiva's wife ; but the *kaustubha* jewel is usually associated with Viṣṇu. The Śaiva-Śākta features of the goddess are, however, more prominent here than her Vaiṣṇava characteristic.

3. Regarded as *Vajraprastārīṇī*. See under *Ardhanārīvara*.

Rakt-ābdhau rakta-pote ravi-dal-kamal-ābhyantara-san-
 niṣaṇṇām
 rakt-āṅgīm rakta-mauli-sphurita-śaśikalām smera-vaktrām
 tri-netrām /
 vijapūr-eṣu-pāś-āṅkuśa-Madanadhanuḥ-sat-kapālāni / haṣṭair

bibhrāṇām = ānaṭ-āṅgīm ṣṭana-bhara-namitām =

Ambikām = āśrayāmaḥ //

(A, p. 185 ; B, p. 117)

N.B. Ref. *Nibandha*, V. 1, *ratna-pote*.

Ambikā is red-complexioned and is seated on a red lotus with twelve (*ravi*) petals placed on a red ship (or bejewelled boat) in a sea of blood. Her red head is adorned by the crescent. She has three eyes and a smiling face and holds *viṇapūra* (pomegranate), arrow, noose, goad, Madana's bow, [of flowers] and skull in her hands. She is stooping at the weight of her developed breasts.

4. Also called *Devī*, *Viśālākṣī*, *Mahādevī* and *Mahāsampatpradā*.

Dhyāyed = Devīm Viśālākṣīm tapta-jāmbunada-prabhām /
dvi-bhujām = Ambikām caṇḍām khadga-kheṭaka-dhāriṇīm //
nān-ālaṅkāra-subhagām rakt-āmbara-dharām śubhām /
sadā-ṣoḍaśa-varṣīyām prasann-āsyām tri-locanām //
muṇḍa-māl-āvali-ramyām pīn-onnata-payodharām /
śav-opari Mahādevīm jaṭā-mukuta-maṇḍitām //
śatru-kṣaya-karīm Devīm sādhak-ābhīṣṭa-dāyikām /
sarva-saubhāgya-jananīm Mahāsampat-pradām smaret //

(A, p. 612 ; B, p. 399).

N.B. Ref. *Ādiyāmala*.

Ambikā, called *Devī*, *Viśālākṣī*, *Mahādevī*, etc., has two arms, and her complexion resembles the colour of burnt gold. She is of violent temper and holds sword and shield in her hands. She wears red clothes and various ornaments and resembles a girl of sixteen years of age. She has three eyes, a pleased look and developed breasts and wears a garland of severed human heads. She stands on a corpse and has matted locks of hair arranged in a kind of crown.

VI. *Ardhanārīśvara*

Cf. *Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa* ; see under *Sūrya* called *Mārtaṇḍa*, i.e. *Mārtaṇḍabhairava*.

1. called *Rudra* and *Ardhāmbikeśa*.

Ñila-pravāla-ruciraṁ vilasat-trinetraṁ
pāś-āruṇotpala-kapālaka-śūla-hastam /
Ardhāmbikeśam = anīśam pravibhakṭa-bhūṣam
bārendu-baddha-mukutaṁ praṇamāmi Rudraṁ //

(A, p. 320 ; B, p. 210)

N.B. Ref. *Nibandha*.

Rudra, in the form of Ardhāmbikeśa (i.e. Īśa or Śiva with Ambikā as his half), is beautiful like blue coral, with hands holding noose, red lotus, skull and *śūla* (trident). He has three eyes, and the crescent is fixed to his crown. The ornaments of the god and the goddess are suitable for males and females respectively. [The goddess holds noose and lotus.]

2. Udyad-bhānu-spurita-taḍid-ākāram = Ardhāmbikeśam

pāś-ābhīti-varada-paraśum sandadhānam kar-ābjaiḥ /
divy-ākalpāy = nava-maṇi-mayaiḥ śobhitaṁ viśva-mūlaṁ
saumy-āgneyam vapur = avatu vaś = candra-cūḍam tri-net-
ram //

(A, p. 235 ; B, p. 153)

N.B. Ref. *Nibandha*.

Ardhāmbikeśa (Īśa or Śiva with Ambikā as his half) has the appearance of the rising sun and the lightning. In his hands, he holds noose and battle-axe and shows *abhaya* and *varada* poses of hands. He has three eyes as well as the moon on his crest. He is adorned with ornaments made with the nine kinds of gems and has the benign form resembling fire.

N.B. The complexion of the god is red like the rising sun and that of the goddess is fair like lightning. See *Sūrya* called *Mārtaṇḍa* or *Mārtaṇḍabhairava*.

The *vara* or *varada* pose of hand exhibits the palm of the hand exposed to the observer with its fingers pointing downwards. It is also called *iṣṭa*, *abhīṣṭa* or *dāna*. The *abhaya* (also called *abhīti* and *bhīti-hara*) pose exhibits the palm exposed to the observer with the fingers raised upwards.

VII. *Ardhāmbikeśa*
Same as *Ardhanārīśvara*.

VIII. *Ādyavarāha (Ādivarāha)*
Same as *Varāha*.

IX. *Ādyāśakti*

Regarded as *Tripuṭā*.

Adhastāt kalpa-vṛkṣasya niṣaṇṇām-devatām smaret //
Cāpaṁ pās-āmbuja-sarasijāny=āṅkuśaṁ puṣpa-bāṇau
saṁbibhṛāṇām kara-sarasijai ratna-mauliṁ tri-netrām /
hem-ābj-ābhām kuca-bhara-naṭām ratna-mañjira-kāñcīm
graivey-ādyair=vilasita-tanuṁ bhāvayec=Chaktim=
Ādyām //
cāmar-ādarśa-tāmbūla-karaṇḍaka-samudgākān /
vahantibhiḥ kuc-ārtābhir= dutibhiḥ parivāritām //
karuṇ-āmṛta-varṣiṇyā paśyantīm sādhakāṁ dṛṣā / * * *
[Agny-ādi-ṣaṭsu koṇeṣu Lakṣmy-ādyāḥ pūjayed=dhru-
vam //
Lakṣmīm hema-prabhām tanvīm sa-var-ābja-yug-ābha-
yām /
śaṅkha-cakra-gad-āmbhoja-dharaṁ hema-nibhaṁ Harim //
pās-āṅkuśa-ābhay-ābhīṣṭa-dharaṁ Gaurīm jav-āruṇām /
mṛga-ṭaṅk-ābhay-ābhīṣṭa-dharaṁ hema-nibhaṁ Haram //
nil-ōṭpala-karām saumyām Ratim kāñcana-sannibhām /
dhṛta-pās-āṅkuś-eṣvāsam puṣp-eṣum=aruṇām Smaram //]
(A, pp. 176-77 ; B, pp. 111-12).

N.B. Ref. *Nibandha*.

The goddess *Ādyāśakti* is seated under the Kalpa tree. She holds bow, noose, two lotuses, goad and arrow made of flowers in her hands. She has three eyes and a bejewelled head-dress. Her complexion is like the golden lotus, and she is bent at the weight of her developed breasts. She wears necklaces as well as bejewelled anklets and girdle. She has a kind look and is surrounded by the Dūtīs who have developed

breasts and carry flywhisk, mirror, betel-box and vermilion-case.

[The six deities to be worshipped on the six sides beginning with the south-east are—

1. *Lakṣmī* who is gold-coloured and slim and holds *vara* (i.e. the boon-offering pose of hand), two lotuses and *abhaya* (i.e. the no-fear pose of hand) in her four hands. See *Lakṣmī*.

2. *Harī* (Viṣṇu) having the colour of gold and holding the conch-shell, discus, mace and lotus in the four hands. See *Viṣṇu-Śrīkṛṣṇa*, etc.

3. *Gaurī* having the red colour of the *javā* (China rose) flower and holding noose, goad, *abhaya* (no-fear pose of hand) and *abhīṣṭa* (boon-offering pose of hand). See *Gaurī*.

4. *Hara* (Śiva) holding a deer, stone-cutting chisel or axe, *abhaya* (no-fear pose) and *abhīṣṭa* (boon-offering pose) in his four hands. See *Śiva*.

5. *Ratī* who is gold-coloured and holds blue lotuses in her two hands. See under *Pracaṇḍacaṇḍikā-Chinnamastā*.

7. *Smara* (Madana) having red complexion and holding noose, goad, bow and flower-arrow in his four hands. See *Kandarpa*, *Kāma* and *Manobhava*.]

N.B. For the *vara* and *abhaya* poses of hands, see under No. VI.

X. *Indirā*

Same as *Lakṣmī*. See also under *Viṣṇu-Śrīkṛṣṇa*.

XI. *Indra*

Pita-varṇam sahasr-ākṣam vajra-padma-karam vibhum /
sarv-ālaṅkāra-samyuktam naum=Indram dik-paṭ-īśva-

ram //

(A, p. 616 ; B, p. 402)

N.B. Ref. *Mantradevaprakāśm*.

Indra, the chief of the *Dikpatīs* (lords of the quarters), is

yellow-complexioned and thousand-eyed and holds *vajra* (thunderbolt) and *padma* (lotus). He also wears various ornaments.

N.B. The stanza does not mention that Indra rides an elephant (Airāvata).

XII. *Īśa*

Same as *Śiva* ; see also under *Ardhanārīśvara*.

XIII. *Ugratārā*

See *Tārā*.

Pratyālīḍha-pad-ārpit-āṅghri-śava-hṛd-ghor-āṭṭahāsā parā
khadg-endīvara-kartṛ-kharpara-bhujā humkāra-bīj-od-

bhavā /

kharvā nila-viśāla-pīṅgala-jaṭā-juṭ-ogra-nāgair = yutā

jādyam nyasya kapālake tri-jagatām hantya = Ugratārā

svayam //

(A, p. 526 ; B, p. 342)

N.B. Ref. *Phetkārīya*. V. l. *jaṭā-juṭ-aika*^o.

Ugratārā stands in the *pratyālīḍha* pose with the right-foot on a dead body's (Śiva's) chest and the left foot on the latter's legs and laughs terrible laughs. She holds sword, blue lotus, knife and vessel of a broken jar [respectively in the upper right, upper left, lower right and lower left hands]. She is of short stature and is endowed with blue and brown matted locks and has fierce snakes of huge size on her body. She destroys the *jādyā* (inactivity) of the whole world after having put it in a skull-cup.

N.B. *Pratyālīḍha* is a standing pose which is the reverse of *ālīḍha*. In it, the left knee is thrown to front and the leg retracted, while the right leg is planted behind in a slanting position.

XIV. *Ucchiṣṭa-Gaṇeśa*

See *Gaṇeśa*.

XV. *Ucchiṣṭa-Cāṇḍālīnī*

S'av-oparī samāśīnārṇ rakt-āmbara-paricchadām /
 rakt ālankāra-samyuktām guñjā-hāra-vibhūṣitām //
 ṣodaś-ābdāñ — ca yuvañīm pīn-onnata-payodharām /
 kapāla-kartṛkā-hastām parām jyotiḥ-svarūpiṇīm //
 vāma-dakṣiṇa-yogena dhyāyen — mantravid-uttamaḥ //
 (A, p. 558 ; B, p. 264)

N.B. Ref. *Mantradevaprakāśinī*.

The goddess is seated on a corpse and wears red clothes as well as red ornaments and garlands of *guñjā* berries. She is a young girl aged sixteen years and has highly developed breasts. She holds skull-vessel and knife respectively in the left and right hands and appears as a dazzling light.

U

XVI. *Kanakāvati (Yoginī)*

Pracaṇḍa-vadanām Devīm pakva-bimb-ādharām priye /
 rakt-āmbara-dharām bālām sarva-kāma-pradām śubhām //
 (A, pp. 643-44 ; B, p. 420)

N.B. Ref. *Bhūtaḍāmara*.

The fierce-faced and youthful Devī has *bimba*-like (i.e. red) lips and wears red clothes.

XVII. *Kandarpa*

Same as *Kāma*, *Manobhava* and *Smara*. See under *Ādyāśakti* and *Viṣṇu-Śrīkṛṣṇa*.

XVIII. *Kamalajā*

Same as *Kamalā*, *Lakṣmī*, etc. See *Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa*.

XIX. *Kamalā*

Same as *Lakṣmī*, etc.

XX. *Karṇa-plācī*

Called *Plācīkī*.

Kṛṣṇām rakta-vilocanām tri-nayanām kharvāñ — ca lamb-
 odarīm

bandhūk-āruṇa-jihvikām vara-kar-ābhī-yuk-karām = un-
 mukhīm /
 dhūm-ārcir = jaṭilām kapāla-vilasat-pāṇi-dvayām cañcalām
 sarvajñām śava-hṛt-kṛt-ādhivasatiṁ Paiśāci kīm tām
 numah //
 (A, p. 581 ; B, p. 379)

Paiśāciki, seated on a corpse, is black having the lustre of smoke and is pot-bellied. She has three red eyes and short stature, and her tongue looks red like the *bandhūka* flower. With raised face, she has two hands in the *vara* and *abhaya* poses and holds skull in the other two. She has moving limbs and matted hair.

N.B. For the *vara* and *abhaya* poses, see under No. VI.

XXI. *Kātyāyāni*

1: Same as *Mahiṣamardini*.

Savya-pāda-sarojen = ālaṅkṛt-oru-mṛg-ādhipam /
 vāma-pād-āgra-dalita-Mahiṣ-āsura-nirbharām //
 suprasannām suvadanām cāru-netra-tray-ānvitām /
 hāra-nūpura-keyūra-jaṭāmukuta-maṇḍitām /
 vicitra-paṭṭa-vasanām = ardha-candra-vibhūṣitām /
 khaḍga-kheṭaka-vajrāṇi triśūlām viśikhāṁ tathā //
 dhārayantīm dhanuḥ pāśaṁ śaṅkhaṁ ghaṇṭām saroru-
 ham /
 bāhubhir = lalitair = Davīm koti-candra-sama-prabhām //
 (A, pp. 604-05 ; B, p. 394)

The Devī (*Mahiṣamardini*) has her right foot on the lion and is pressing *Mahiṣāsura* with the fore part of her left foot. She is pleased and has a charming face and three beautiful eyes. Having the lustre of a crore of moons (i.e. a fair complexion), she wears necklace, anklets, *keyūra* (armlets) and *jaṭā-mukuta* and also beautiful silk clothes. She holds sword, shield, thunderbolt, trident, arrow, bow, noose, conch-shell, bell and lotus

[in her ten hands] and wears the crescent as an ornament [of her head].

N.B. *Savya* means 'left' and also 'right' in some cases. Here it has been used in the latter sense. *Jaṭāmukuṣa* is matted locks arranged in a particular form of crown.

2. Called *Mahākālī*.

Vyāghra-carma-parīdhānām munḍa-mālā-vibhūṣitām /
rakta-vartula-bhīm-ākṣīm jihvayā lolay=āsurān //
carvayantīm Mahakālīm kāla-rātir=iv=aparām //
kṣobhayantīm jagat sarvaṁ sa-sur-āsura-parvatam //

(A, p. 606 ; B, p. 395)

Mahākālī wears tiger's skin and a garland of severed human heads. She has red, round and fierce eyes and is chewing the demons with her moving tongue.

N.B. Note that the two aspects of *Kātyāyanī* are quite different from each other.

XXII. *Kāma*

Same as *Kandarpa*, *Manobhava* and *Smara*. See under *Ādyāśatki* and *Pracaṇḍacaṇḍikā-Chinnamastā*.

XXIII *Kāmeśvarī* (*Yoginī*)

See *Yoginī*.

Kāmeśvarīm śaśāṅk-āsyām khelat-khañjana-locanām /
sadā lola-gatīm kāntām kusum-āstra-śīlīmukhām //

(A, p. 645 ; B, p. 421)

N.B. Ref. *Bhūtaḍāmara*.

Kāmeśvarī has a moon-like face, and her eyes are fickle like the *khañjana* bird ; she is beautiful and has an agitated movement. She holds weapons and arrows made of flowers.

XXIV. *Kārttikeya*

Kārttikeyam mahābhāgam mayūr-opari-saṁsthitam /
tapta-kāñcana-varṇ-ābham śakti-hastam vara-pradam //
dvi-bhujam śatru-hantāram nān-ālaṁkāra-bhūṣitam /

ṣaṇ-mukhaṁ tuṅga-netrañ=ca sarva-sainya-puraskṛta m //
(Appendix, A, p. 991 ; B, p. 655)

N.B. Ref. *Bhūtaḍāmara*.

The fortunate god Kārttikeya is seated on a peacock. His complexion resembles the colour of burnt gold. He has two hands, one holding the lance (*śakti*) and the other exhibiting the *vara* (boon-offering) pose. He is adorned with various ornaments and is the destroyer of enemies. He has six faces and high nose and is at the van of an army. [For *vara*, see under No. VI.]

XXV. *Kālī*

Described along with *Kapālīnī*, *Kulvā*, *Kurukulvā*, *Virodhinī*, *Vipracittā*, *Ugrā*, *Urgaprabhā*, *Diptā*, *Nilā*, *Ghanā* and *Valākā*. See *Guhyakālī*, *Tārā* or *Tārīnī*, *Dakṣiṇakālīkā*, *Bhadra-kālī*, *Śmaśānakālī*, *Śyāmā*, etc.

Sarvāḥ śyāmā asi-karā muṇḍa-mālā-vibhūṣitāḥ /
tarjanīm vāma-hastena dhārayantyāḥ śuci-smitāḥ //
digambarā hasan-mukhyaḥ sva-sva-vāhana-bhūṣitāḥ //
(A, p. 485 ; B, p. 314)

N.B. V. 1. *ṣva-sva-bhartṛ-vibhūṣitāḥ*.

All these goddesses are dark-complexioned and have a sword in hand and wear a necklace of human heads. Their left hand is in the *tarjanī* pose. They are naked and have a smiling face. Each of them has her own *vāhana* or riding animal (or, husband) with her.

N.B. The *tarjanī* is a pose in which the index-finger of the upraised hand is stretched out upwards, while the other fingers are bent.

XXVI. *Kṛṣṇa* (*Śrīkṛṣṇa*)

Same as *Viṣṇu-Śrīkṛṣṇa*.

XXVII. *Katrāṇī* (the *Kirāta* woman) -

Same as *Tvaritā*.

XXVIII. *Kṣiti*

Same as *Bhūmi* and *Vasumatī*. See under *Varāha*.

XXIX. *Kṣetrapāla*

Bhrājac-candra-jaṭī-dharaṁ tri-nayanam nil-āñjan-ādri-
 prabham
 dor-daṇḍ-ātta-gadā-kapālam = aruna-srag-gandha-vastr-ojj-
 valam /
 ghaṇṭā-mekhala-gharghara-dhvani-milaj-jhaṅkāra-bhīmaṁ
 vibhum
 vande saṁhita-sarpa-kuṇḍala-dharaṁ śrī-Kṣetrapālaṁ
 sadā //
 (A, p. 327 ; B, p. 215)

N.B. Ref. *Prapañcasāra*.

Kṣetrapāla bears the moon on his matted hair and has three eyes. His complexion is blue like the mountain of blue collyrium, and he wears ear-rings of coiled serpents in his ears and a girdle with bells attached to it. He has red garlands, uses red scented ointment, wears red clothes and holds mace and skull. The bells attached to his waist-band make a terrible sound.

N.B. *Kṣetrapāla* is an aspect of *Śiva*.

XXX. *Gaṅgā*

Dadarṣa purato Gaṅgāṁ dvi-bhujāṁ makar-āsanāṁ /
 kund-endu-śaṅkha-dhavalāṁ sarv-ābharana-bhūṣitāṁ //
 (Appendix, A, p. 990 ; B, p. 654)

N.B. Ref. *Kriyāyogasāra*. For another *dhyāna*, the reader has been referred to the *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa*.

The goddess has two hands and has the *makara* (a crocodile or shark, or a mythical sea-monster) as her *āsana* (seat or vehicle). She is adorned with all ornaments and is as white as the *kunda* flower, the moon and the conch-shell.

XXXI. *Gaṇapati*Same as *Gaṇeśa*.XXXII. *Gaṇeśa*1. Called *Gaṇapati*.

Sindūr-ābhaṁ tri-netraṁ pṛthutara-jāṭharaṁ hasta-padma-

-dadhānaṁ

dantaṁ pāś-āṅkuṣ-estāny-uru-kara-vilasat-vijapūr-ābhira-

mam /

bāl-endu-dyoti-mauliṁ karipati-vadanam dānap-ūr-ārdra-

gaṇḍam

bhogīndr-ābaddha-bhūṣaṁ bhajata Gaṇapatiṁ rakta-

vastr-āṅgarāgam //

(A, p. 206 ; B, p. 131)

N.B. Ref. *Nibandha*.

Ganapati is red like the colour of vermillion ; he is three-eyed and big-bellied and holds [his broken] tusk, noose and goad [respectively in the upper right, lower right and upper left of his four hands], one hand (*i.e.* the lower left) being in the *iṣṭa* (*i.e.* *varaḍa* or 'boon-giving') pose. He has the elephant's face with its sides wet with ichor and holds a pomegranate with his trunk. His head is adorned by the crescent, and he wears red clothes, uses red scented ointment and has also the snake as an ornament.

N.B. For the pose of hand, see under No. VI.2. Called *Gaṇeśāna* and *Mahākāla*. Regarded as *Ucchiṣṭa-Gaṇeśa*.

Rakta-mūrtiṁ Gaṇeśānaṁ sarv-ābharāṇa-bhūṣitam /
rakta-vastraṁ tri-netraṁ=ca rakta-padm-āsane sthitam //
catur-bhujam Mahākālaṁ dvi-dantaṁ sa-smit-ānanam /
iṣṭaṁ=ca dakṣiṇe haste dantaṁ=ca tad-adhaḥ-kare //
pāś-āṅkuṣau ca hastābhyām jāṭā-maṇḍala-veṣṭitam /
lalāṭa-candra-rekh-ādhyam sarv-ālaṅkāra-bhūṣitam //

(A, p. 564 ; B, p. 368)

Gaṇeśāna or Mahākāla has red complexion and is bedecked with all ornaments. He wears red clothes and has three eyes, four hands and two tusks. Seated on red lotus, he is smiling and holding *iṣṭa* (i.e. the *varada* pose of hand) in his upper right hand, a tusk in the lower right, while noose and goad adorns his upper and lower left hands respectively, He has crescent on the forehead and his head is covered by a number of matted locks. [The epithet *dvīdanta* is interesting.]

N.B. For the pose of hand, see under No. VI.

3. Called *Hastimukha* (Elephant-faced).

Pāś-āṅkuśau kalpa-latām viṣāṇam

dadhat-sva-śuṇḍ-āhita-vijapūraḥ /

raktas = tri-netras = taruṇ-endu-maulir =

hār-ojjavaḥ Hastimukho = 'vatād = vaḥ /

(A, pp. 215-16 ; B, p. 138)

N.B. Ref. *Nibandha*.

The elephant headed god holds, in his [four] hands, noose, goad, the wish-fulfilling *kalpa* creeper and [his own broken] tusk while a pomegranate is held in his trunk. He is red-complexioned and has three eyes, his head being adorned by the crescent. He shines on account of his necklace.

4. Called *Heramba*.

Muktā-kāñcana-nīla-kunda-ghuṣṛṇa-cchāyais = tri-netr-

ānvitair =

nāg-āsyair = hari-vāhanam śaśi-dharam Herambam = arka-

prabham /

dr̥ptam dānam = abhīti-modaka-radān ṭaṅkam śiro-kṣ-

ātmikām

mālām mudgaram = āṅkuśam tri-śikhakam dorbhir = dadhā-

nam bhaje //

(A, p. 214 ; B, p. 137)

N.B. Ref. *Nibandha*. *Ghuṣṛṇa* = *kuṅkuma* ; *hari-vāhana* = *siṃha-vāhana*.

Heramba has five elephant's faces, each endowed with

three eyes and having the complexion resembling the colour respectively of the pearls, gold, indigo, *kunda* flower and saffron. He rides a lion, and [his head] is adorned with the moon. His [red] appearance is like that of the [rising] sun. He holds, in his hands, *dāna* (i. e. exhibits the *varada* pose of hand), *abhūti* (i.e. the *abhaya* pose of hand), sweetmeats, [his own broken] tusk, *ṭaṅka* (stone-cutting axe or chisel), a rosary of [human] heads, club, goad and trident.

N.B. For the poses of hand, see under No. VI.

XXXIII. *Garuḍa*

See under *Viṣṇu-Śrīkṛṣṇa*.

Called *Pakṣirāja* (Lord of Birds).

Varm-antar-vahni-yugm-ākṣara-kamala-gataṁ pañca-bhūt-
ādyā-varṇaṁ
klpt ākalpaṁ phaṇ-īndrair=abhaya-vara-karaṁ padma-
netraṁ suvakṛtaṁ /
duṣṭ-āhi-cchedi-tuṇḍaṁ smarad-akhila-viṣa-proṣaṇaṁ
prāṇa-bhūtaṁ
prāṇ-āgranyaṁ trivedi-tunum=amṛtamayaṁ Pakṣirājaṁ
bhaje—'ham //

(A, pp. 617-18 ; B. p. 403)

N.B. Ref. *Nibandha*.

The Lord of Birds (*Pakṣirāja*) is seated on a lotus bearing certain *bijākṣaras* and has his body consisting of the three Vedas. He wears snake-ornaments and has his hands in the *vara* and *abhaya* poses. His face is beautiful, and his eyes resemble the lotus. He is tearing a serpent with his beaks.

N.B. For the poses of hands, see under No. VI.

XXXIV. *Gāyatrī*

A. *Prātaḥkālyā*.

1. Called *Brāhmī* (Brahman's wife).

Udyad-āditya-saṅkāśāṁ puṣṭak-ākṣa-karāṁ smaret /

kṛṣṇ-ājina-dharām Brāhmīm dhyāyet=tārakite - 'mbare //
(A, p. 133 ; B, p. 84)

N.B. V. 1. kṛṣṇ-ājin-āmbaram.

Brāhmī (the Śakti of the god Brahman) is to be meditated in the morning as resembling the rising sun in the starry sky, wearing *kṛṣṇ-ājina* (skin of the black antelope) and holding manuscript and rosary in her hands.

2. *Vāg-vīja-rūpām vidyāyā vidyut-pātala-bhāsvaram /*
puṣpa-bān-ekṣu-kodaṇḍa-pāś-āṅkuṣa-lasat-karām //
(A, p. 134 ; B, p. 84)

The goddess of knowledge and speech is dazzling like lightning and holds the arrow made of flowers, the bow of sugarcane, noose and goad [in her four hands].

B. Madhyāhnakāliyā.

1. *Śyāma-varṇām catur-bāhum śaṅkha-cakra lasat-kaṭām /*
gadā-padma-dharām Devīm sūry-āsana-kṛt-āśrayām //
(A, p. 133 ; B, p. 84)

The Devī is to be meditated at noon as seated in the Sun. She is dark-complexioned and holds the conch-shell, discus, mace and lotus in her four hands.

N.B. This aspect of the goddess has Vaiṣṇava characteristics.

2. *Kāma-vij-ātmikām Devīm=alaktaka-ras-āruṇām /*
prasūna-bāna-pundr-ekṣu-cāpa-pāś-āṅkuś-ānvitām //
paritaḥ sv-ātma-mukhyābhiḥ śaṭtrimśat-tattva-śaktibhiḥ //
(A, p. 134 ; B, p. 84)

N.B. V. 1. puṣp-ekṣu.

The Devī is to be meditated as red like *alaktaka-rasa* (red lac) and as holding an arrow made of flower and a bow made of white sugarcane (or, a sugarcane bow adorned with flowers), as well as noose and goad. She is surrounded by thirtysix Śaktis (called Tattva-śakti).

C. Sāyāhnakāliyā

1. Śuklām śukl-āmbara-dharām vṛṣ-āsana-kṛt-āśrayām /
tri-netrām varadām pāśam śūlañ = ca nṛ-karoṭikām //
sūrya-maṇḍala-madhyasthām dhyāyan Devīm samabhyā-
set //

(A, p. 133 ; B, p. 84)

The Devī is to be meditated in the evening as white-complexioned, wearing white clothes and seated on a bull in the sun's orb. She has three eyes and [holds] noose, spear (or trident) and human skull in three hands with the fourth hand in the *varada* pose.

N..B. This aspect of the goddess has Śaiva characteristics. For the pose of hand, see under No. VI.

2. Called *Bhagavatī*.

Śakti-vij-ātmikām cāpa-bāṇa-pāś-āṅkuś-ānvitām /
yuga-nity-ākṣar-ākārām sphaṭik-ābharan-ānvitām //
cintayitvā Bhagavatīm Nityābhiḥ parivāritām //
(A, p. 134 ; B, p. 84)

The Bhagavatī should be meditated in the evening as seated in the moon's orb and as holding bow, arrow, noose and goad. She wears ornaments made of crystal and is surrounded by the Nityās.

XXXV. *Guhyakālī* (*Guhyakālikā*)

See *Śyāmā* ; also see under *Śivā* ; cf. *Mahākālā*.

Mahāmegha-prabhām Devīm kṛṣṇa-vastra-pidhāyinīm /
lalaj-jihvām ghora-damṣṭrām koṭar-ākṣīm hasan-mukhīm //
nāga-hāra-lat-opetām candr-ārdha-kṛta-śekharam /
dyām likhantīm jaṭām = ekām lelihanām śavam svayam //
nāga-yajñopavit-āṅgīm nāga-śayyā-niṣeḍuṣīm /
pañcāśan-muṇḍa-samyuktām narā-mālām mah-odarīm //
sahasra-phaṇa-samyuktām = Anantām śiras = oparī /
catur = dikṣu nāga-phaṇā-veṣṭitām Guhyakālikām //
Takṣaka-sarpa-rājena vāma-kaṅkaṇa-bhūṣaṇām /

Ananta-nāga-rājena kṛta-dakṣiṇa-kaṅkaṇām //
 nāgena rasanā-hāra-kalpiṭām ratna-nūpurām /
 vāme Śiva-svarūpan = tam kalpitām vatsa-rūpakam //
 dvi-hhujām cintayed = Devīm nāga-yajñ-opavitinīm /
 nara-deha-samābaddha-kunḍala-śruti-maṇḍitām //
 prasanna-vadanām saumyām nava-ratna-vibhūṣitām / * * *
 aṭṭa hāsām mahā-bhīmām sādhak-ābhīṣṭa-dāyinīm //

(A, pp. 502-03 ; B, pp. 326-27)

N.B. V. 1. *bālaka-rūpam* for *vatsa-rūpakam*. For *śiras - opari*, better read *mastak-opari*. The composition is poor.

Guhyakālikā has the colour of dense clouds and wears black clothes. She has a lolling tongue and terrible-looking teeth. Her eyes are sunken. She has a smiling face and wears necklaces made of serpents, and the crescent adorns her head. Her single matted lock of hair touches the sky, and she frequently licks a corpse. She has the sacred thread made of a snake, rests on a snake-bed and wears a garland of human bodies and fifty heads. She is big-bellied and has the thousand-hooded Ananta on her head and serpent-hoods all around. The snake kings Takṣaka and Ananta respectively form the bracelets of her left and right wrists. Her girdle and necklace are made of snakes while her anklets are made of jewels. Śiva stands as a child to her left. She has two hands and her sacred thread is made of snakes and ear-rings of human bodies. She is pleasant-faced and benign and is adorned with the nine kinds of gems.

XXXVI. *Gopabālaka* (Cowherd Boy)

See under *Viṣṇu-Śrīkrṣṇa*.

XXXVII. *Govinda*

Same as *Viṣṇu-Śrīkrṣṇa*.

XXXVIII. *Gauri*

See under *Ādyāśakti* and *Naṭhinī* (*Yoginī*).

Hem-ābhām bibhratīm dorbhir=darpaṇ-āñjanasādhane /
pāś-āṅkuśau sarva-bhūṣām tām Gaurīm sarvadā bhaje //

(A, p. 613 ; B, p. 400)

Gaurī is gold-coloured and is adorned with all kinds of ornaments. She holds a mirror, the stick for applying collyrium to her eyelids, a noose and a goad [in her four hands].

XXXIX. Caṇḍeśvara

See Śiva.

Caṇḍeśvarām rakta-tanuṁ tri-netraṁ
rakt-āṁśuk-ādhyam hṛdi bhāvayāmi /
ṭaṅkam triśūlam sphatik-ākṣamālām
kamaṇḍalum bibhratam=indu-cūdam //

(A, p. 326 ; B, p. 214)

Caṇḍeśvara has red complexion and three eyes and wears red clothes. With his crest adorned by the moon, he holds a *ṭanka* (hatchet or stone-cutter's chisel), a trident, a rosary of crystal beads and a *kamaṇḍalu* (earthen or wooden water-pot used by ascetics) [in his four hands].

XL. Caṇḍogra-Śūlapāṇi

See Śiva.

Śuddha-sphaṭika-saṅkāśam catur-bāhuṁ kirīṭinam /
śūlam kapālam dakṣe tu vāme tu pāśam=aṅkuśam //
surā-pāna-ras-āviṣṭam sādhak-ābhīṣṭa-ḍāyakam //

(A, pp. 553-54 ; B, p. 360)

N.B. Ref. *Kubjikātantra* ; *dakṣa*=*dakṣiṇa*.

The god's complexion is white like the colour of a white pearl. He wears a crown and holds, in his four hands, the trident and skull-vessel in the right and the noose and goad in the left. He is intoxicated as a result of drinking wine.

XLI. Cāmuṇḍā

Damṣṭrā-koṭi-viśaṅkaṭā suvadanā sāndr-āndhakāra-ṣṭhitā

khaṭvāṅg-āsi-nigūḍha-ḍakṣiṇa-karā vāmena pāśaṁ śiraḥ /
 śyāmā piṅgala-mūrdhajā bhayakarī śārdūla-carm-āvṛtā
 Cāmuṇḍā śava-vāhini japa-vidhau dhyeyā sadā sādha-
 kaiḥ //

(A, pp. 634-35 ; B, p. 414)

Cāmuṇḍā has a pleasing face, but a terrible appearance owing to her [terrible] teeth. She lives in dense darkness and has *khaṭvāṅga* (a long bone with a skull at the top) and sword in her [two] right hands and noose and a human head in the [two] left hands. She is dark-complexioned and has tawny hair. She wears tiger's skin and causes terror. Her seat is a corpse.

XLII. *Caitanya-bhairavi*

See *Nityā*.

XLIII. *Chinnamastā*

Same as *Pracaṇḍacaṇḍikā*.

XLIV. *Jagannātha*

Same as *Viṣṇu-Śrīkṛṣṇa*.

XLV. *Jayadurgā*

See *Durgā*, *Mahīṣamardīni*, *Śivā*, etc.

Kāl-ābhr-ābhām kaṭ-ākṣair—ari-kula-bhayadām mauli-
 baddh-endu-rekhām
 śaṅkham cakram kṛpāṇām trīśikham—api karair—udva-
 hantīm tri-netrām /
 simha-skandh-ādhirūḍhām tri-bhuvanam=akhilām tejasā
 pūryantīm
 dhyāyed=Durgām Jay-ākhyām tridaśa-parivṛtām sevītām
 siddhi-kāmaiḥ //
 (A, p. 192 ; B, p. 123)

N.B. Ref. *Nibandha*.

Jayadurgā has three eyes, and her complexion resembles the

colour of the dark clouds. Her head is adorned by the crescent, and she holds the conch-shell, discus, sword and trident. She rides on a lion.

XLVI. *Jaladhīsutā*

Same as *Indirā*, *Kamalaajā*, *Kamalā*, *Lakṣmī*, *Śrī*.

XLVII. *Jānakī*

Same as *Sītā*.

XLVIII. *Jiṣṇu*

See *Hayagrīva*.

XLIX. *Dākinī*

See under *Pracaṇḍacaṇḍikā-Chinnamastā*.

L. *Takṣaka*

See under *Guhyakālī*.

LI. *Tārā*

Same as *Tārīṇī*. See also *Ugratārā*, *Dakṣiṇakālīkā*, *Śyāmā* and *Śivā*.

1. Regarded as *Tārīṇī*.

Pratyālīḍha-padām ghorām muṇḍa-mālā-vibhūṣitām /
kharvām lamb-odarīm bhīmām vyāghra-carm-āvṛtām
kaṭau //
nava-yauvana-sampannām pañca-mudrā-vibhūṣitām /
caṭur-bhujām lola-jihvām mahābhīmām vara-pradām //
khaḍga-kartrī-samāyukta-savya-etara-bhuja-dvayām /
kapāl-otpala-samāyukta-savya-pāṇi-yug-ānvitām //
piṅg-ogr-aika-jatām dhyāyen=maulāv=Akṣobhya-bhūṣi-
tām //

[Bāl-ārka-maṇḍal-ākāra-locana-traya-bhūṣitām /
jvalac-ciṭā-madhya-gaṭām ghora-daṁṣṭrām karālinīm //
s-āveśa-smera-vadanām śṛy-alaṅkāra-vibhūṣitām /
viśva-vyāpaka-ṭoy-āntaḥ-śveta-padm-opari ṣṭhitām //]

Akṣobhya Devī-mūrdhanyas = trimūrtir = nāga-rūpa-dhṛk //
(A, pp. 514-15 ; B. p. 334)

N.B. Ref. *Phetkariya*. V. 1. *Lalaj-jihvām*. This *dhyāna* is introduced by a stanza ending with the words *dhyāyed=ātmā-nam Tārīṇī-mayam*.

The goddess Tārīṇī stands in the *pratyāhḍha* pose. She is youthful, fierce, short-statured and big-bellied. She wears tiger's skin at her waist and a garland of skulls on her neck. She is endowed with the *pañca-mudrā* and has a lolling tongue, and her four arms hold sword and knife in the right hands and skull and blue lotus in the left ones. She has a single lock of matted hair, which is *piṅga* (tawny) and fierce-looking, and her head is adorned by [the Dhyāni-Buddha] Akṣobhya.

[The three eyes of the goddess are red resembling the rising sun's orb. She stands in the middle of a burning funeral pyre and looks fierce with her terrible teeth. She has a smiling face and wears various female ornaments. She is on a white lotus in the waters of the ocean.]

Akṣobhya on the forehead of the Devī has a triple form, but appears in the form of a serpent.

N.B.—For the standing pose called *pratyāhḍha*, see under No. XIII. Akṣobhya is really a Dhyāni-Buddha and indicates the original Buddhist character of the goddess. His funny description seems to suggest that the late medieval Tāntric authors were not conscious about his identity. *Pañca-mudrā-vibhūṣita = lalāṭe śvet-āsthi-pañjikā-catuṣṭay-ānvita-kapāla-pañca-ka-bhūṣita*, i.e. adorned by a necklace of five skulls with a white bone between any two of them. This interpretation has been supported by quotations from the *Tantracūḍāmaṇi* and from one of Śaṅkarācārya's works.

2. Sṛyāma-varṇām tri-nayanām dvi-bhujām vara-pankaje /
dadhānām bahu-varaṇābhīr=bahu-rūpābhīr = āvṛtām //
Saktibhiḥ smerā-vadanām smerā-maukṭika-bhūṣaṇām /

ratna-pādukayor = nyasta-pād-āmbuja-yugām smaret //

(A, pp. 535 36 ; B, p. 348)

N.B. Ref. Svatantra.

The goddess is dark-complexioned and has three eyes and two arms, one holding a lotus and the other exhibiting the *varada* pose. She is smiling and is adorned with bright pearls. Her feet are in bejewelled sandals or shoes and she is surrounded by Śaktis of various complexions and shapes.

N.B.—The reference to the sandals or shoes worn by the goddess is interesting and may suggest foreign association. cf. *Śakti Cult*, ed. Sircar, P. 191. For the pose of hand, see No. VI.

3. Called *Nityā*, *Mahādevī* and *Tārīṇī*.

Kṛṣṇām lamb-odarīm bhīmām nāga-kunḍala-śobhitām /
rakta-mukhīm lalaj-jihvām rakt-āmbara-dharām kaṭau //
pīn-onnata-stanīm = ugrām mahānāgena veṣṭitām /
śavasy = opari deveśi tasy = opari kapālake //
nās-āgra-dhyāna-niratām mahā-ghorām vara-pradām /
catur-bhujām dīrgha-keśīm dakṣiṇasy = ordhva-bāhunā //
bibhratīm nalinīm = ekām vām-ordhve pāna-pātrakam /
var-ābhaya-dharām Devīm = adhastād = dakṣa-vāmayoh //
pibantīm raudhirīm dhārām pāna-pātre Sadāśive /
sarva-siddhi-pradām Devīm Nityām giri-nivāsinīm //
locana-traya-samyuktām nāga-yajñ-opavitinīm /
dīrgha-nāsām dīrgha-janghām dīrgh-āṅgīm dīrgha-jihvi-
kāṁ //

candra-sūry-āgni-bhedena tri-locana-samanvitām /
śatru-nāśa-karīm Devīm mahābhīmām vara-pradām //
vyāghra-carma-śiro-baddhām jagat-traya-vibhāvinīm /
sādhakānām sukham kartrīm sarva-loka-bhayaṅkarīm //
evambhūtām Mahādevīm Tārīṇīm praṇamāmy = aham //
(A, pp. 596-97 ; B, pp. 389-90)

N.B. Ref. Tārīṇī Tantra. V. 1. mukta-keśīm for raktamukhīm. Dakṣa = dakṣiṇa. May be sadā Śive. The composition is poor.

Mahādevī Tārīṇī is dark, fierce-looking and big-bellied and wears ear-rings of snakes. Her mouth is full of blood and her tongue is lolling. She wears a piece of red cloth at her waist, has fully developed breasts and is violent and surrounded by a great snake. She is seated on a skull placed on a corpse and is engaged in meditation with her sight fixed at the tip of her nose. She has long hair and four arms holding lotus in the upper right and drinking vessel in the upper left, the lower right and lower left exhibiting the *varada* and *abhaya* poses. She drinks blood from the vessel. She is Nityā residing on the hills and has three eyes representing the sun, moon and fire. Her sacred thread is made of a snake. She has tall stature and long nose, long *jaṅghā* (probably, leg) and long tongue. A piece of tiger's skin is tied to her head.

N.B. For the poses of hands, see under No. VI.

LII. *Tripuṭā*

Same as *Ādyāsakti*.

LIII. *Tripura-bhairavi*

Udyad-bhānu-sahasra-kāṇṭim – aruṇa-kṣaumām śiro-mālī-
kāṇṭim
rakt-ālīpta-payodharām japa-vaṭīm vidyām – abhītiṁ
varam /
hast-ābjair – dadhatīm tri-netra-vilasat-rakt-āravinda-
śriyam
Devīm baddha-himāṇṣu-ratna-mukutām vande sa-manda-
smitām //

(A, p. 343 ; B, p. 214)

The Drvī's lustre resembles that of a thousand rising suns (*i.e.* she is red-complexioned). She wears red clothes and a garland around her head. Her breasts are covered with blood. She holds rosary and manuscript [in two hands], the [other two] hands exhibiting the *abhaya* and *vara* poses. Her three

Sphaṭika-rajata-varṇaṁ mauktikīm = akṣa-mālām
 amṛtakalasa-vidyā-jñānamudrā-kar-ābjaiḥ /
 dadhatam = uraga-kakṣaṁ candra-cūḍaṁ tri-netraṁ
 vidhṛta-vividha-bhūṣaṁ Dakṣiṇāmūrtim = ide //

(A, p. 318 ; B, p. 209)

N.B. Ref. *Nibandha* and *Mānasollāsa*.

The complexion of Dakṣiṇāmūrti is white like crystal and silver. He holds a rosary of pearls, a jar of nectar and a manuscript in three hands, the fourth exhibiting the *jñāna* pose. His girdle is made of a snake and the moon beautifies his crest. His eyes are three in number and he is adorned with various ornaments.

N.B. In the *jñāna-mudrā*, the tips of the middle finger and the thumb are joined together and held near the heart, with the palm turned towards the heart.

LVII. *Dadhivāmana*

Muktā-gaurāṁ nava-maṇi-lasad-bhūṣaṇa ucandra-saṁs-
 thaṁ
 bhṛṅg-ākārāḥ = alaka-nikarāḥ śobhi-vaktr-āravindam /
 hast-ābjābhyāṁ kanaka-kalasaṁ śuddha-toy-ābhipūrṇaṁ
 dadhy-ann-ādhyāṁ kanaka-çaṣakaṁ dhārayantaṁ bhajā-
 maḥ //

(A, p. 294 ; B, p. 193)

N.B. Ref. *Nibandha*.

The complexion of the god is white like pearl. He wears ornaments made of the nine kinds of jewels and resides in the orb of the moon. His face is beautified by black locks of hair, and he holds, in his hands, a golden jar full of pure water and a golden vessel full of rice mixed with curds.

LVIII. *Dinanātha*

Same as *Sūrya*.

LIX. *Durgā*See *Jayadurgā*.

1. *Simhasthā śaṣi-śekharā marakata-prakhyā caturbhir -*
bhujaiḥ
śaṅkhaṁ cakra-dhanuḥ-śarāṁś - ca dadhatī netrais =
tribhiḥ śobhitā /
ā-mukt-āṅgada-hāra-kaṅkaṇa-ṛaṇat-kāñci-kvaṇan-nūpurā
Durgā durgati-hāriṇī bhavatu vo ratn-ollasat-kuṇḍalā //
(A, p. 187 ; B, p. 119)

N.B. Ref. *Nibandha*. V. 1. *marakata-prekṣā*.

Durgā rides a lion. The moon adorns her head, and her blue complexion resembles the colour of emerald. She holds, in her four hands conch-shell, discus, bow and arrow. She has three eyes and is adorned with pearl ornaments such as armlets (*āṅgada*), necklace, bracelets (*kaṅkaṇa*), girdle and anklets as well as with bejewelled ear-rings.

2. Called *Mahādevī* and *Bhava-gehinī* (Wife of Bava or Śiva).

Simha-skandha-samārūḍhām nān-ālaṅkāra-bhūṣitām /
catur-bhujām Mahādevīm nāga-yajñ-opavītinīm //
[śaṅkha-śārṅga-samāyukta-vāma-pāṇi-dvay-ānvitām /
cakraṁ = ca pañca-bāṇāṁś = ca dhārayantiḥ = ca dak-
ṣiṇe //
*rakta-vastra-parīdhānām bāl-ārka-saḍṣī-tanum / * * **
tri-bālī-valay-opeta-nābhi-nāla-mṛṇālīnīm //
ratna dvīpa-maya-dvīpe śimbhāsana-samanvite /
praphulla-kamal-ārūḍhām dhyāyet = tām Bhava-gehinīm //
(A, p. 609-10 ; B, p. 398)

N.B. Ref. *Viśvasāra*. V. 1. *Ratnadvīpa-mahādvīpe*.

Mahādevī (wife of *Mahādeva* or Śiva) rides on a lion and is adorned with various ornaments. She has four hands and

wears the sacred thread made of a serpent. [Her two left hands hold the discus and five arrows.] She wears red clothes and her complexion is red like the rising sun. The goddess, who is the wife of Bhava (Śiva), is on a lotus that lies on the lion-seat in an island made of coral islands (or, in a big island called the Island of Jewels).

LX. *Dūtī*

See under *Ādyāśakti*.

LXI. *Devī*

See under *Kātyāyanī*, *Mahākālā*, etc.

LXII. *Dhanadā*

Called *Dhanadāyikā*.

Kuṅkum-odara-garbh-ābhām kiñcid-yauvana-śālinīm /
mṛṇāla-komala-bhujām keyūr-āṅgada-bhūṣanām //
tulākoṭi-paribhrānta-pāda-padma-dvay-ānvitām /
māṇikyā-hāra-mukuta-kuṇḍal-ādi-vibhūṣitām //
nīl-otpala-dṛśām kiñcid-udyat-kuca-virājitām /
karābhyām bhrāmyat-kamalām rakta-vastr-āṅga-rāgi-

nīm //

hema-prākāra-madhyasthām ratna-simhāsan-opari /
dhyāyet kalpataror = mūle devatām Dhanadāyikām //

(A, pp. 568-69 ; B, p. 371)

The complexion of *Dhanadāyikā* (the goddess who gives wealth) is red like the inner part of *kuṅkuma* (saffron flower). She resembles a girl in her early youth and wears two kinds of armlets (*keyūra* and *āṅgada*) and also anklets as well as necklace, crown, ear-rings, etc., made of rubies (*māṇikyā*). Her eyes are like the blue lotus and her breasts are not fully developed. She holds lotuses in her hands and wears red clothes and uses scented red ointment. She sits on a bejewelled throne surrounded by gold walls.

LXIII. *Dhanadāyikā*Same as *Dhanadā*.LXIV. *Dhavalāmukhi*

Dhūmra-varṇām Mahādevīm tri-netrām śaśi-śekharam /
 jaṭā-juṭa-samāyuktām vyāghra-carma-paricchadām //
 kṛś-āṅgīm = asthi-māl-ādhyā-kartṛk-ādhyā-kar-āmbujām /
 koṭar-ākṣīm su-daṁṣṭrāṇī = cā pātāla-sannibh-odarām //

(A, p. 637 ; B, p. 416)

The Mahādevī is smoke-coloured (*i.e.* dark-complexioned) and has three eyes, and the moon adorns her crown. She has matted locks and wears tiger's skin. She holds a rosary of bones in one hand and a knife in the other. Her eyes are sunken and her teeth fine or prominent, while her belly has considerable depth. She is thin.

LXV. *Dhūmāvati*

Vivarnā cañcalā ruṣṭā dīrghā ca malin-āmbarā /
 vimukta-kuntalā rukṣā vidhavā virala-dvijā //
 kāka-dhvaja-rath-ārūdhā vilambita-payodharā /
 sūrpa-hast = ātirukṣ-ākṣī dhūta-hastā var-ānvitā //
 pravṛddha-ghonā ru bhṛśam kuṭilā kuṭil-ekṣanā /
 kṣut-pipās-ārditā nityam bhayadā kalaha-priyā //

(A, p. 560 ; B, p. 365)

N.B. Ref. *Phetkārīṇī*. V. 1. *vivarṇa-kuntalā*.

The goddess is *vivarṇā* (pale), *cañcalā* (tremulous) and angry. She has tall stature. Her clothes are not clean and hair untied. She is *rukṣa* (unkind), is a widow and has few teeth. She rides a chariot with *kāka-dhvaja* (the banner of a crow) and has hanging breasts. Her eyes have a harsh look. She has a winnowing fan in one hand and her other hand, which is trembling, exhibits the *varada* pose. Her nose is too big, and she is crooked and has crooked looks. She is always hungry and thirsty and strikes terror and is quarrelsome.

N.B. For the pose of hand, see under No. VI.

LXVI. *Naṭarāṭa* (Dancing Śiva)See under *Annapūrṇā*.LXVII. *Naṭinī* (*Yoginī*)Called *Gaurī*.

Trailokya-mohinīm Gaurīm vicitr-āmbara-dhārinīm /
vicitr-ālaṅkṛtām ramyām nartakī-veśa-dhārinīm //

(A, p. 647 ; B, p. 423)

N.B. Ref. *Bhūtaḍamara*.

The goddess Gaurī ('fair-complexioned') charms the three worlds. She wears beautiful clothes and ornaments and has the appearance of a pleasant dancing girl.

LXVIII. *Nityā*

Regarded as *Caitanya-bhairavī*. See *Mahāsampatpradā* ;
also under *Annapūrṇā*, *Gāyatrī*, *Tārā-Tārinī*, *Śivā*.

Udyad-bhānu-sahasr-ābhām nān-ālaṅkāra-bhūṣitām /
mukut-āgra-lasac-candra-rekhām rakt-āmbar-ānvitām //
pās-āṅkuśa-dharām Nityām vāma-hasta-kapālinīm /
varad-ābhaya-śobh-āḍhyām pīn-onnata-ghana-stanīm //

(A, p. 351 ; B, p. 229)

N.B. Ref. *Jñānārṇava*.

Nityā has the lustre of one thousand rising suns (*i.e.* is red-complexioned) and is adorned with various ornaments. She has crescent at the top of her crown and wears red clothes. She holds noose and goad, and also the skull in one of her left hands, while two of her hands exhibit the *varada* and *abhaya* poses. She has highly developed breasts.

N.B. For the poses of hands, see under No. VI.

LXIX. *Nilakaṇṭha*Same as *Śiva*. See under*Annapūrṇā-Nityā*.

Bāl-ārka-āyuta-tejasaṁ dhṛta-jaṭā-jut-endu-khaṇḍ-ojvalaṁ

nāgendraiḥ kṛta-śekharam japa-vaṭm śūlam kapālam
 karaiḥ /
 khaṭvāṅgam dadhataṁ trinetra-vilasat-pañc-ānanam sunda-
 ram
 vyāghra-tvak-paridhānam = abja-nilayam śrī-Nīlakaṇṭham
 bhaje //
 (A, p. 322. B, p. 211)

N.B. Ref. *Nibandha*.

Nīlakaṇṭha ('one with the blue throat') has 'the redness of thousands of rising suns. His matted locks are adorned with the crescent. His head-dress is made of snakes. He holds rosary, trident, skull and *khaṭvāṅga* (a long bone with a skull at the top) in his hands. He has three eyes on each of his five faces and wears tiger's skin. He is seated on a lotus.

LXX. *Nīlagrīva*

Same as *Nīlakaṇṭha* (*Śiva*). See under
Vaṭuka-bhairava.

LXXI. *Nṛsimha*

1. Māṇiky-ādri sama-prabham nija-rucā santrasta-rakṣo-
 gaṇam
 jānu-nyasta-kar-āmbujam tri-nayanam ratn-ollasad-bhūṣa-
 nam /
 bāhubhyām dhṛta-śaṅkha-cakram = anīṣam daṁṣṭr-ogra-
 vaktr-ollasaj-
 jvālā-jihvam = udagra-keśa-nicayam vande Nṛsimham
 vibhum //
 (A, pp. 299-300 ; B, p. 197)

N.B. Ref. *Kalpa* and *Nibandha*.

Nṛsimha (*i.e.* the Man-lion) is red resembling a hillock made of *māṇikya* (rubies) and has his hands resting on his knees. He has three eyes and wears bejewelled ornaments. He holds conch-shell and discus in his two hands. His tongue

sparkles in his mouth which is fierce owing to his teeth. He has his hairs standing up on his head.

N.B. Nṛsiṃha is an *avatāra* or incarnation of Viṣṇu.

2. Kopād=ālola-jihvaṁ vivṛta-nija-mukhaṁ soma-sūry-āgni-
netraṁ

pādād = ā-nābhi-rakta-prabham=upari sitaṁ bhinna-dait-
yendra-gātram /

śaṅkhaṁ cakram ca pāś-āṅkuśa-kuliśa-gadā-dāraṇāny =
udvahantaṁ

bhīmaṁ tikṣṇ-ogra-damṣṭraṁ maṇimaya-vividh-ākālpam =
īde Nṛsiṃham //

(A, p. 301 ; B, p. 198)

N.B. Ref. *Nibandha*.

Nṛsiṃha's tongue is lolling in his open mouth, because he is angry. His [three] eyes represent the sun, moon and fire. His body is red from the feet to the navel and white in the upper part. He holds the conch-shell, discus, noose, goad, thunderbolt, mace and battle-axe and tears the body of the demon king (Hiraṇyakaśipu). He wears various bejewelled ornaments, is fierce and has sharp and terrible teeth.

LXXII. *Pakṣirāja*

Same as *Garuḍa*.

LXXIII. *Padmānanā*

Same as *Padmini*.

LXXIV. *Padmini (Yoginī)*

Called *Padmānanā*.

Padmānanāṁ śyāma-varṇāṁ pīṇ-ottuṅga-payodharāṁ /
komal-āṅgīm smera-mukhīm rakt-otpala-dal-ekṣaṇām //

(A, p. 646 ; B, p. 422)

N.B. Ref. *Bhūtaḍāmara*.

Padmānanā ('the lotus-faced') is dark-complexioned and has

fully developed breasts. She has soft limbs and a smiling face. Her eyes are like the petals of a red lotus.

LXXV. *Paramēṣvarī*

See under *Śivā*.

LXXVI. *Paśupati*

See *Mṛtyuñjaya-Paśupati*. Same as *Śiva*.

LXXVII. *Pārijāta-Sarasvatī*

Same as *Vāgdevatā* or *Vāgdevī*, also called *Vāgīśvari*, etc.

Called *Bhārati* and *Vāṇī*.

Haṁs-āruḍhā Hara-hasita-hār-endu-kund-āvadātā
Vāṇī manda-smitatara-mukhī mauli-baddh-endu-lekhā /
vidyā-viṇ-āmṛtamayaghaṭ-ākṣasraj-ādīpta-hastā
śvet-ābjasthā bhavad-abhimata-prāptaye Bhārati syāt //
(A, pp. 204-05 ; B, p. 131)

N.B. Ref. *Dakṣiṇāmūrtisamhitā*.

The goddess called Vāṇī and Bhārati rides a swan and has white complexion like Śiva's smile, a pearl necklace, the moon and the *kunda* flower. She has a smiling face and has the crescent fixed to her head. Her [four] hands are adorned by a manuscript, a lute, a jar of nectar and a rosary, and she is seated on a white lotus. [The crescent associates her with Śiva.]

LXXVIII. *Pitāmbara*

Same as *Kṛṣṇa*. See under *Viṣṇu-Śrīkṛṣṇa*.

LXXIX

Pārvatī

Regarded as *Brahmaśrī*.

Avikala-śaśī-rājan-maulir - ābaddha-pāśā-
nkuśa-rucira-karābjā bandhujiv-āruṇ-āṅgī /
amara-nikara-vandyā tr-īkṣaṇā śoṇa-lep-ām-
śuka-kusuma-yutā syāt sampade Pārvatī vaḥ //
(A, p. 615 ; B, p. 401)

N.B. Ref. *Mantradevaprakāśinī*.

Pārvati (Daughter of the Mountain, *i.e.* Himālaya) has her head adorned by the full moon and holds noose and goad in her [two] hands. Her complexion is red like the *bandhujīva* (*bandhūka*) flower. She has three eyes. She wears red-dyed clothes and flowers.

LXXX. *Paiśācikā*

See *Karṇapīśācī*.

LXXXI. *Pracaṇḍacaṇḍikā* or *Chinnamastā*

1. Sva-nābhau nīrajām dhyāyed = ardham vikasitam sitam /
 tat-padma-koṣa-madhye tu maṇḍalam caṇḍa-rociṣaḥ //
 javā-kusuma-saṅkāśam rakta-bandhūka-sannibham /
 rajo sattva-tāmo-rekhā-yoni-maṇḍala-maṇḍitam //
 madhye tu tām Mahādevīm sūrya-koṭi-sama-prabhām /
 Chinnamastām kare vāme dhārayantīm sva-mastakam //
 prasārita-mukhīm bhīmām lelihān-ogra-jihvikām /
 pibantīm raudhirīm dhārām nija-kaṇṭha-vinirgatām //
 vikīrṇa-keśa-pāśāñ = ca nānā-puṣpa-samanvitām /
 dakṣiṇe ca kare kartrīm muṇḍa-mālā-vibhūṣitām //
 digambarīm mahāghorām pratyālīdha-pade sthitām /
 asthi-mālā-dhārām Devīm nāga-yajñ-opavitinīm //
 Rati-Kām-opavistāñ = ca sadā dhyāyanti mantriṇaḥ /
 sadā śoḍaśa-varṣīyām pīn-onnatīpayodharām //
 viparīta-rat-āsaktau dhyāyed = Rati-Manobhavau /
 Dakīni-Vaṇinī-yuktām vāma-dakṣiṇa-yogataḥ //
 Dēvi-gal-occhalad-rakta-dhārā-pānam prakurvati /
 Vaṇinīm lohitaṁ saumyaṁ mukta-keśīm digambarīm //
 kapāla-kartṛkā-hastām vāma-dakṣiṇa-yogataḥ /
 nāga-yajñ-opavit-ādhyām jvalat-tejomayīm = iva //
 pratyālīdha-padām divyām nān-ālaṅkāra-bhūṣitām /
 sadā dvādaśa-varṣīyām = asthi-mālā-vibhūṣitām //
 Dakīnīm vāma-pārsvasthām kalpa-sūrya-anal-opamām /
 vidyuj-jaṭām tri-nayanām danta-paṅkti-valākinīm //

daṁṣṭrā-karāla-vadanām pīn-onnata-payodharām /
 Mahādevīm mahāghorām mukta-keśīm digambarīm //
 lelihāna-mahājihvām muṇḍa-mālā-vibhūṣitām /
 kapāla-kartṭkā-hastām vāma-dakṣiṇa-yogataḥ //
 Devī-gal-occhalad-rakta-dhārā-pānām prakurvati /
 kara-sthita-kapālena bhīṣaṇen — ātibhīṣaṇām //
 ābhyām niṣevyamānām tām dhyāyed = Devīm vicakṣaṇaḥ /
 sva-mastakam sa-kharparam rakta-dhār-ābhipūritam /
 lalaj jihvam mahābhīmam dhṛtam vāma-bhuje tathā
 (A, pp. 462 ; B, pp. 299-300)

N. B. Ref. *Bhāṭṛavatantra*, *Pibantīm* = *iti tena mukhen* = *eti*
śeṣaḥ. The composition is poor.

[Antare sva-śarīrasya nābhi-niraja-saṅgatām /
 nirlepām nirguṇām sūkṣmām bāla-candra-sama-prabhām //
 samādhi-mātra-gamyān = tu guṇa-tritaya-veṣṭitām /
 kāl-ātītām guṇ-ātītām mukti-mātra-prādayiniṁ //]
 (A, pp. 464-65 ; B, p. 301)

N. B. Ref. *Bhāṭṛavatantra*.

One should conceive a half-open white lotus on one's own navel and the red orb of the sun in the pericarp of that lotus. Māhādevī Chinnamastā (i.e. the great goddess whose head is cut off), having the lustre of a crore of suns, holds her own severed head in her left hand. She is fierce, with her dreadful tongue in the open mouth licking [her lips], and is drinking the blood flowing from her own severed throat. Her hair is dishevelled, and she is adorned with various flowers. She holds skull-vessel in the left and knife in the right hand and is endowed with a necklace of severed heads. She is fierce and naked and stands in the *pratyāṅdhā* attitude (i.e. with her left knee advanced and right leg drawn back). She wears a garland of bones and the sacred thread made of a snake and stands on Rati and Kāma (Manobhava) who are engaged in *viparīta-rati*. She looks like a girl of sixteen years of age and has highly developed breasts. [cf. the Buddhist *Vajrayoginī*.]

Dākinī stands to her left and Varṇinī to her right and both of them drink the blood flowing from the Devī's severed throat. Of the two, Varṇinī is of pleasing appearance. She is red-complexioned and naked and has dishevelled hair. She holds skull in her left hand and knife in the right one. She stands in the *pratyāliḍha* attitude and has her sacred thread made of a snake. She is full of effulgence and is adorned with many ornaments. She is like a girl of twelve years in age and has a garland of bones. Dākinī is also full of effulgence and has matted locks shining like lightning. She has three eyes, white teeth and a fierce look. She is a great goddess with highly developed breasts. She has dishevelled hair and is naked and wears a garland of severed heads. Her great tongue licks the lips. She holds the skull-vessel in her left hand and knife in the right. She also drinks the blood flowing from the severed throat of the Devī (Chinnamastā) in the skull-vessel in her hand.

Chinnamastā is very fierce. Her tongue licks [her lips], and she holds, in her left hand, her severed head on a *kharpara* (vessel made out of a skull or broken jar) covered with blood.

2. *pratyāliḍha-padām sad-aiva dadhatīm chinnaṁ śiraḥ*
kartṭkām
dig-vastrām sva-kabandha-śonita-sudhā-dhārām pibantīm
mudā /
nāg-ābaddha-śiromaṇīm tri-nayanām hṛdy-utpal-ālaṅkr-
tām
raty-āsakta-Manobhav-opari dṛḍhām dhyāyej=javā-sanni-
bhām //
daḥṣe c=āti-sitā vimukta-cikurā kartrīm tathā kharparam
hastābhyām dadhatī rajo-guṇa-bhavā nāmn=āpi sā Var-
ṇinī /
Devyaś=chinna-kabandhataḥ patad-asṛg-dhārām pibantī
mudā

nāg-ābaddha-śiromaṇir = manu-vidā dhyeyā sadā sā suraiḥ //
vāme kṛṣṇa-tanūs = tath = aiva dadhatī khaḍgaṁ tathā

kharparam

pratyālīḍha-padā kabandha-vigalad-raktaṁ pibantī mudā /
s = aiśā yā pralaye samasta-bhuvanaṁ bhoktum kṣamā

tāmasī

śaktiḥ s = āpi parātparā Bhagavati nāmnā parā Dākinī //

(A, p. 468 ; B, p. 304)

The goddess (Chinnamastā) stands in the *pratyālīḍha* pose and holds her own severed head and a knife. She is naked and is drinking the blood flowing from her own headless trunk. She is three-eyed. Her crest-jewel is fixed by snakes and her chest is covered by lotus garlands. She stands on Manobhava (i.e. Kāma, the god of love) engaged in sexual enjoyment. Her complexion is red like the *javā* flower.

To the right of the goddess stands the white-complexioned Varṇinī who has dishevelled hair with her head-jewel fixed by snakes. She holds knife and *kharpara* (vessel made of skull or broken jar) and drinks the blood flowing from the headless trunk of the goddess. [*Dakṣā* = *dakṣiṇa* ; *manu* = *mantra*.]

To the left of the goddess, the dark-complexioned Dākinī stands in the *pratyālīḍha* pose holding sword and *kharpara* and drinks the blood flowing from the headless trunk of the goddess

3. Nābhau śuddh-āravindaṁ tad-upari kamalaṁ maṇḍalaṁ

caṇḍa-raśmeh

sāmsārasy = aika-sārām tribhuvana-jananīm dharma-kām-

oday-āḍhyām /

tasmin = madhye tri-koṇe tritaya-tanu-dharām Chinnamas-

tām praśastām

tām vande jñāna-rūpām nikhila-bhaya-harām yoginīm

yoga-mudrām //

(A, pp. 471-72 ; B, p. 306)

Chinnamastā, having a triple form (*i.e.* the Devī along with Varṇinī and Dākini), stands in the triangle inside the solar orb within a white lotus in the navel of the meditator.

N.B. For the *pratyāliḍha* pose of standing, see under No. XIII above. *Viparīta-rati* is a kind of sexual enjoyment in which the female is above the male. See under *Śyāmā* below.

LXXXII. *Brahman*

See under *Śiva*

LXXXIII. *Bhagavatī*

See under *Annapūrṇā*, etc.

LXXXIV. *Bhadrakālī*

See *Kālī*.

Kṣut-kṣāmā koṭar-ākṣī masi-malina-mukhī mukta-keśī
rudantī
 n — āham tṛptā vadantī jagad — akhilam — idam grāsam =
ekam karomi /
 hastābhyām dhārayantī jvalad-anala-śikhā-sannibhām
pāśam = ugrām
 danṭair — jambu-phal-ābhaiḥ pariharatu bhayaṁ pātu mām
Bhadrakālī //
(A, p. 563 ; B, p. 367)

Bhadrakālī is hungry. Her eyes are sunken and her face black like ink. Her hair is untied, and she is crying and saying, "I am not satisfied. I want to eat the world in one mouthful." She holds the terrible and flame-like noose in both her hands. Her teeth are blue-black like the *jambu* fruit.

LXXXV. *Bhava-gehinī* (Wife of Bhava or Śiva)

Same as *Durgā*.

LXXXVI. *Bhānu*

Same as *Sūrya*.

LXXXVII. *Bhārati*Same as *Pārijāta-Sarasvatī*.LXXXVIII. *Bhuvaneśi*Same as *Bhuvaneśvari*.LXXXIX. *Bhuvaneśvari*

See *Annapūrṇā*, *Ambikā* and *Śivā* ; regarded as *Bhuvaneśvari-bhātravī* ; also see under *Ambikā*.

1. Called *Bhuvaneśi*.

Udyad-ina-dyutim — indu-kirīṭāṁ
tuṅga-kucāṁ nayana-traya-yuktām /
smera-mukhīm varad-āṅkuṣa-pāś-ā-
bhīti-karām prabhaje Bhuvaneśīm //

(A, p. 164 ; B, p. 103)

Bhuvaneśi (*Bhuvaneśvari*) is lustrous like the rising sun (*i.e.* red-complexioned) and has the moon on her crest. She has three eyes, highly developed breasts and a smiling face. She holds goad and noose in [two] hands, with the other [two] hands exhibiting the *varada* and *abhaya* poses.

N.B. For the poses of hands, see under No. VI.

2. Called *Hara-vadhū* (Wife of Hara or *Śiva*).

Śyām-āṅgīm śaśi-śekharaṁ nija-karair = dānañ = ca rakt-
otpalaṁ
ratn-ādhyam caṣakaṁ param bhayaharam sambibhratīm
śāśvatīm /
muktā-hāra-lasat-payodhara-natām netra-tray-ollāsinīm
vande — 'ham sura-pūjitām Hara-vadhūm rakt-āravinda-
sthitām //

(A, p. 169 ; B, p. 106)

N. B. Ref. *Sārada*.

The wife of Hara (*Śiva*) is dark-complexioned and has the moon on her head. Three of her hands hold *dāna* (*i.e.* the *varada* pose), a red lotus and a vessel full of gems, while

the fourth hand exhibits the *bhayahara* (*abhaya*) pose. She is three-eyed, seated on a red lotus and is bent at the weight of her developed breasts.

3. Called *Ādyā-Bhuvaneśvarī*.

Var-āṅkuśau pāśam — abhīti-mudrām

karair=vahantīm kamal-āsanasthām /

bāl-ārka-koṭi-pratimām tri-netrām

bhaje=’ham — Ādyām Bhuvaneśvarīm tām //

(A, p. 170 ; B, p. 107)

N.B. Ref. *Nibandha*.

Ādyā-Bhuvaneśvarī holds a goad and noose in her two hands with her other hands exhibiting the *vara* and *abhaya* postures. She is seated on a lotus and has the lustre of a crore of rising suns (*i.e.* has red complexion). She has three eyes.

N.B.—For the poses of hands, see under No. VI.

XC. *Bhūmi*

Same as *Vasumatī*. See under *Annapūrṇā-Nityā*. and *Viṣṇu-Śrīkṛṣṇa*.

XCI. *Mañjughoṣa*

1. Śāsadharam=iva śubhram khaḍga-pust-āṅka-pāṇim
suruciram=ati-śāntam pañca-cūḍam kumāram /
pṛthutara-vara-mukhyam padma-patr-āyat-ākṣam
kumati-dahana-dakṣam Mañjughoṣam namāmi //

(A, pp. 585, 592 ; B, pp. 382, 386)

N.B. Ref. *Bhairavatantra*. V. 1. *khaḍga-pust-āṅga*⁰.

Mañjughoṣa is white-complexioned like the moon and holds sword and manuscript in his hands. He is a beautiful and calm boy with his hair tied in five crests.

N.B. The expression *pṛthutara-vara-mukhya* is understood to mean ‘very fat’.

2. Sampūrṇa-maṇḍala-tuṣāramarīci-madhye
 bālaṁ vicintya dhavalāṁ vara-khaḍga-hastam /
 uddāma-keśa-nivaham̐ vara-pustak-ādhyam̐
 nagnam̐ bhajet kṣataja-padma-dal-āyat-ākṣam //
- (A, p. 589 ; B, p. 381)

N.B. Ref. *Kukkuṭeśvara*.

The god is a naked boy seated in the full moon and is white-complexioned. He holds sword in one of his two hands on one side, with the other exhibiting the *varada* pose, while on another side, one hand holds a manuscript and the other exhibits the *varada* pose. He has untied hair and eyes resembling the petals of a red lotus.

N.B. In this connection, Mañjuḥṣa is also described as *rākā-sudhākara-tuṣāramarīci-gaura*, 'bright-complexioned like the full moon'. Without referring to Mañjuḥṣa's third and fourth hands, the expression *vara-pustak-ādhyā* may also suggest that he has some beautiful manuscripts in his possession.

Mañjuḥṣa is essentially the Buddhist god of the same name, also called Mañjuśrī. For the poses of hands, see under No. VI.

XCII. *Madhumatī (Yoginī)*

Śuddha-sphaṭika-saṅkāśāṁ nānā-ratna-vibhūṣitām /
 mañjira-hāra-keyūra-ratna-kunḍala-maṇḍitām //

(A, p. 648 ; B, p. 423)

N.B. Ref. *Bhūtaḍāmara*.

The goddess has the colour of a white crystal and is adorned with various jewels and such ornaments as anklets (*mañjira*), necklace, armlets (*keyūra*) and bejewelled ear-rings.

XCIII. *Madhyāhṇakālīyā Gāyatrī*

See *Gāyatrī*.

XCIV. *Manasā*

Called *Siddhā*.

Śveta-campaka-varṇ-ābhām ratna-bhūṣana-bhūṣitām /
vahnī-śuddh-āṁśuk-ādhānām nāga-yajñopavitinīm //
mahājñāna-yutāṁ = c = aiva pravarām jñāninām satām /
siddh-ādhisthātṛ-devīṁ = ca Siddhām siddhi-pradām

bhaje //

(Appendix, A, p. 992 ; B, p. 656)

The complexion of the goddess resembles the colour of the white *campaka* flower, and she is adorned with bejewelled ornaments. Her clothes are white like the flames of fire and she wears a serpent as her sacred thread.

XCV. *Manobhava*

Same as *Kandarpa*, *Kāma* and *Smara*.

See under *Pracaṇḍacaṇḍikā-Chinnamasā*.

XCVI. *Manoharā* (*Yoginī*)

Kuraṅga-netrām śarad-indu-vaktrām
bimb-ādharām candana-gandha-liptām /
cīn-āṁśukām pīna-kucām manojñām
śyāmām sadā kāmādughām vicitrām //

(A, p. 642 ; B, p. 419)

N.B. Ref. *Bhūtaḍāmara*.

The goddess has eyes resembling those of a deer, and her face is like the autumnal moon. Her lips are red like the *bimba* fruit, and her body is besmeared with the sandal-paste perfume. She wears China-cloth (silk) and is of pleasing appearance. She is dark-complexioned and has developed breasts.

XCVII. *Mahākālā*

See under *Guhyakālī* and *Śyāmā* or *Dakṣiṇakālīkā*.

*Mahākālā*ṁ yajed = Devyā dakṣiṇe dhūmra-varṇakam /

bibhrataṁ danḍa-khaṭvāṅgaṁ daṁṣṭrā-bhīma-mukhaṁ
 śiṣum //
 vyāghra-carm-āvṛta-kaṭim tundilam rakta-vāsasam /
 tri-netram = ūrdhva-keśaṁ = ca munda-mālā-vibhūṣitam //
 jaṭā-bhāra-lasac candra-khaṇḍam = ugraṁ jvalan-nibham //
 (A, p. 485-86 ; B, p. 314)

The smoke-coloured Mahākālā stands to the right of the Devī and holds club and *khaṭvāṅga*. He is a child with his face terrible because of his teeth. He wears a tiger's skin at his waist and red clothes (or, the tiger's skin which is red) and has a big belly. He has three eyes. His matted hair stands upward on his head and he wears a garland of severed heads. The moon adorns the matted hair on his head, and he is fierce and looks like a blazing fire.

N.B. *Khaṭvāṅga* is a long bone with a skull at the top. With the idea of the god as *śiṣu*, cf. Vaṭuka-bhairava described as a *bāla*.

XCVIII. *Mahākālā*

Called *Mahāraudrī*. See *Kātyāyani*.

Pañca-vaktrāṁ Mahāraudrīm prati-vaktra-trilocanām /
 śakti-śūla-dhanur-bāṇa-khadga-kheṭa-var-ābhayān //
 dakṣ-ādakṣa-bhujair = Devīm bibhrāṇām bhuri-bhūsanām //
 (A, p. 626 ; B, p. 408)

Devī Mahāraudrī (Mahārudra's wife) has five faces, each of which has three eyes. In her left and right hands, she holds spear, trident, bow, arrow, sword, shield, *vara* (boon offering pose) and *abhaya* (fearlessness-offering pose). She is adorned with many ornaments. [*Dakṣ-ādakṣa* = *dakṣiṇa-vāma*.]

N.B. For the poses of hands, see under No. VI.

XCIX. *Mahā-Gaṇapati*

Same as *Mahā-Gaṇeśa*.

C. *Mahā-Gaṇeśa* (*Mahā-Gaṇapati*)

See *Ucchiṣṭa-Gaṇeśa*, *Gaṇeśa*, *Haridrā-Gaṇeśa*, *Heramba*.

N.B. Ref. *Nibandha*. V. 1. *sarasija-ruca*^o.

The god's fair complexion resembles the colour of the pearl, and he has the head of an elephant in rut. He is three-eyed and has the moon on his crest. In his hands, he holds lotus, goad and a jar-full of jewels. He has a bejewelled head-dress and his wife, beautiful like a lotus, is seated on his lap. The goddess holds her husband's male organ by her hand and the god touches the female organ of his wife by his *kara* (trunk).

3. Called *Hastimukha*.

Hastair=bibhratam=ikṣu-danḍa-varadau pāś-āṅkuṣau
 puṣkara-
 sprṣṭa-sva-pramadā-var-āṅgam=anay - āśliṣṭam dhvaj-āgra-
 sprṣṭā /
 śyām-āṅgyā vidhṛt-ābjayā tri-nayanam candr-ārdha-cūdam
 jāvā-
 raktam Hastimukham smarāmi satatam bhog-ātilolam
 vibhum //

(A, p. 213 ; B, p. 136)

N. B. Ref. *Nibandha*.

Hastimukha ('the elephant-headed god') is holding, in his hands, sugarcane, noose and goad with one hand exhibiting the *varada* pose. His dark-complexioned wife holds a lotus in one hand and her husband's male organ by another. He is embraced by his wife whose female organ he touches by the tip of his trunk (*puṣkara*).

CI. *Mahādevi*

See under *Durgā*, *Dhavalāmukhī*, etc.

CI(a). *Mahāraudrī*.

Same as *Mahākālī*.

CII. *Mahālakṣmī*

See *Lakṣmī* ; also under *Ambikā*, etc.

Called *Śārngin's Wife*.

Sindūr-āruṇa-kāntim = abja-vasatim saundarya-vārām
 nidhim
 koṭṣr-āṅgada-hāra-kunḍala-kaṭisūtr-ādibhir = bhūṣitām /
 hast-ābjair = vasu-pātram = abja-yugal-ādarśau vahantīm
 parām =
 āvitām paricārikābhir = anīṣam dhyāyet priyām Śārṅgi-
 naḥ //
 (A, p. 226 ; B, p. 146)

N. B. Ref. *Nibandha*.

The complexion of the wife of Śārṅgin (*i.e.* Lakṣmī or Mahālakṣmī) is red like vermilion, and she is seated on a lotus. She is exceptionally beautiful and is adorned with ornaments like the crown, armlets (*aṅgada*), necklace, ear-rings and waist-band. In her hands, she holds *vasu-pātra* (money-bag or jar full of coins), two lotuses and a mirror. She is surrounded by her attendants.

CIII. *Mahāsampatpradā* (*Nityā*)

Regarded as *Sampatpradā-bhairavi*.

Ā-tāmr-ārka-sahasr-ābhām sphurac-candra-kalā-jaṭām /
 kirīṭa-ratna-vilasac-citra-cltrita-mauktikām //
 sravad-rudhira-paṅk-ādhyā-muṇḍa-mālā-virājitām /
 nayana-traya-śobh-ādhyām pūrṇ-endu-vadan-ānvitām //
 muktā-hāra-latā-rājat-pīn-onnata-ghana-stanīm /
 rakt-āmbara-parīdhānām yauvan-onmatta-rūpiṇīm //
 pustakañ = c = ābhayaṁ vāme dakṣiṇe c = ākṣa-mālikām /
 vara-dāna-ratām Nityām Mahāsampatpradām smaret //
 (A, pp. 347-48 ; B, p. 227)

N. B. Ref. *Jñānārṇava*.

Mahāsampatpradā has the red splendour of a thousand copper-coloured suns. She has the moon on her matted hair. Her crown is adorned with many kinds of beautiful gems. Blood oozes from her garland of severed heads, and she has three eyes and a beautiful face like the full moon. Her

developed breasts are adorned with pearl necklaces. She wears red clothes and is youthful. She holds manuscript and *abhaya* (*i.e.* exhibits the *abhaya-mudrā*) in her [upper and lower] left hands and the rosary is held in her [upper] right hand, while the other right hand exhibits the *vara* pose.

N. B. For the poses of hands, see under No. VI.

CIV. *Mahīṣamardīnī*

See *Kātyāyānī*.

Gāruḍ opala-sannibhām maṇi-mauli-kuṇḍala-maṇḍitām /
naumi bhāla-vilocanām mahiṣ-ottamāṅga-niṣeduṣīm //
śaṅkha-cakra-kṛpāṇa-bāṇa-kārmuka-śūlakān /
tarjanīm = api bibhratīm nija-bāhubhiḥ śaṣi-śekharam //
(A, p. 190 ; B, p. 121)

N. B. Ref. *Nibandha*. The metres of the two stanzas are not common.

The goddess has the blue colour of emerald and is adorned with a bejewelled crown and ear-rings. She has a third eye on her forehead and is seated on the head of the Buffalo (*Mahiṣa*). In her hands, she holds conch-shell, discus, sword, arrow, bow and trident (or spear) with one of the hands exhibiting the *tarjanī* pose. Her head is adorned by the moon.

N. B. For the pose of hand, see under No. XXV.

CV. *Maheśa (Śiva)*

See under *Vaṭuka-bhairava*.

CVI. *Mātangī*

Śyām-āṅgīm śaṣi-śekharam tri-nayanām ratna-simbāsana-
sthitām /
vedair = bāhu-daṇḍair = asi-khetaka-pāś-āṅkuṣa-dharām //
(A, p. 5.5 ; B, p. 362)

N. B. Ref. Vāmakeśvara. The third foot of the stanza is metrically defective.

The goddess is dark-complexioned and three-eyed and has her head adorned by the moon. She is seated on a bejewelled throne. In her four (*veda*) hands, she holds sword, shield, noose and goad.

CVII. *Mātaṇḍa (Mātaṇḍa-bhairava)*

See under *Sūrya*.

CVIII. *Mukunda*

Same as *Kṛṣṇa*. See under *Viṣṇu-Śrīkṛṣṇa*.

CIX. *Mṛtyuñjaya-Paśupati*

Same as *Śiva*.

Candr-ārka-āgni-vilocanaṁ smṛta-mukhaṁ padma-dvaya-
 āntaḥ-sthitaṁ
 mudrā-pāśa-mṛga-ākṣasūtra-vilasat-pāṇim himāṁśu- pra-
 bham /
 kotir-endu-galat-sudh-āpluta-tanuṁ hār-ādi-bhūṣ-ojjvalaṁ
 kāntyā viśva-vimohanaṁ Paśupatiṁ Mṛtyuñjayaṁ
 bhāvaye //
 (A, p. 316 ; B, p. 208)

N. B. Ref. Nibandha.

The god called Mṛtyuñjaya (Conqueror of Death) and Paśupati (Lord of Beasts) has three eyes representing the moon, sun and fire. He is smiling and is seated within two lotuses. In three of his four hands, he holds noose, deer and rosary, the fourth exhibiting the *mudrā* (*i.e.* the *vyākhyā* or *jñāna* pose of hand). His complexion is bright like the moon and his body is washed by the nectar flowing from the moon in his crest. He wears necklace and other ornaments and charms the whole world by his beauty.

N.B. For the pose of hand, see under No. LVI.

CX. *Yoginī*

See *Kanakāvatī*, *Kāmeśvarī*, *Naṭinī*, *Padminī*, *Madhumatī*,
Manoharā, *Ratisundarī* and *Surasundarī*.

CXI. *Ratī*

See under *Ādyāsakti* and *Pracaṇḍacaṇḍikā-Chinnamastā*.

CXII. *Ratisundarī* (*Yoginī*)

Suvarṇa-varṇām gaur-āṅgīm sarv-ālaṅkāra-bhūṣitām /
nūpur-āṅgada-hār-āḍhyām ramyāñ=ca puṣkar-ekṣaṇām //
(A, p. 645 ; B, p. 421)

N.B. Ref. *Bhūtaḍāmara*.

The complexion of the goddess is fair like the colour of gold and she is adorned with all kinds of ornaments such as anklets, armlets (*aṅgada*) and necklace. She is of pleasing appearance and her eyes resemble the lotus.

CXIII. *Rāghava*

Same as *Rāma*. See *Śrīrāma*.

CXIV. *Rājasa-Vaṭuka-bhairava*

See *Vaṭuka-bhairava*.

CXV. *Rāma*

Same as *Śrīrāma*.

CXVI. *Rukmiṇī*

See under *Viṣṇu-Śrīkṛṣṇa*.

CXVII. *Rudra*

See *Rudrāḥ* ; also under *Śiva* and *Ardhanārīśvara*.

CXVIII. *Rudra-bhairavi*

Udyad-bhānu-sahasr-ābhām candra-cūḍām tri-locanām /
nān-ālaṅkāra-subhagām sarva-vairi-nikṣantanām //
vamaḍ-rudhira-muṇḍ-āli-kaliṭhām rakta-vāsasīm /

triśūlaṁ ḍamaruṁ khadgaṁ tathā khetakam=eva ca //
 pinākañ=ca śarāṇ Devīm pāś-āṅkuśa-yugaṁ kramāt /
 pustakañ=c=ākṣa-mālāñ=ca Śiva-simhāsana-sthitām //
 (A, p. 357 ; B, p. 233)

N.B. Ref. *Jñānārṇava*. The language is unsatisfactory.

The goddess has the lustre of a thousand rising suns (*i.e.* red complexion). She has three-eyes, and her crest is adorned by the moon. She is beautiful owing to various ornaments and destroys all the enemies [of her devotees]. She wears a garland of severed heads from which blood oozes, and her clothes are red. She uses Śiva as her throne and holds the trident, kettle-drum, sword, shield, bow (*pināka*), arrows, noose, goad, manuscript and rosary [in her ten hands].

N.B. *Śiva-simhāsana-sthitā* seems to be the same thing as *Rudr-āṅka-pūṣha-sthā* (cf. *Śaktayaḥ* below). *Pāś-āṅkuśa-yuga* is sometimes explained as one pair of nooses and another of goads.

CXIX. *Rudrāḥ*

Cf. *Śaktayaḥ*.

Ete Rudrāḥ samākhyātāḥ dhṛta-śūla-kapālakāḥ //

N.B. Ref. *Nibandha*.

The Rudras (35 in number beginning with Krodhīśa) hold trident and skull-vessel in their hands.

CXX. *Lakṣmaṇa*

See under *Śrīrāma*.

CXXI. *Lakṣmī*

Same as *Indirā*, *Kamalajā*, *Kamalā* and *Śrī*.

See *Mahālakṣmī* ; also under *Viṣṇu-Śrīkṛṣṇa* and under *Ādyāśakti*.

1. Called *Kamalā*.

Āsīnā sarasīruhe smita-mukhī hast-āmbujair=bibhratī
 dānaṁ padma-yug-ābhaye ca vapuṣā saudāminī-sannibhā /

muktā-hāra-virājamāna-prthul-ottuṅga-stan-odbhāsini
pāyād = vaḥ Kamalā kaṭākṣa-vibhavair = ānandayanti

Harim //

(A, p. 221 ; B, p. 143)

N. B. Ref. *Nibandha*.

Kamalā is seated on a lotus and has a smiling' face. In two of her hands, she holds two lotuses while the other two exhibit *dāna* (*vara*, i.e. *varada*) and *abhaya* poses. Her complexion is bright like the lightning. She wears a pearl necklace and has developed breasts. She pleases her husband Hari with her glances.

N. B. For the poses of hands, see under No. VI.

2. Called *Śrī*.

Kāntyā kāñcana-sannibhām Himagiri-prakhyaiś = caturbhir
— gajair =
hast-otkṣipta-hiraṇmay-āmṛta-ghaṭair = āsicyamānām

Śriyam /

bibhrāṇām varam = abja-yugmam = abhayaṁ hastaiḥ kirīṭ-
ojjvalām

kṣaum-ābaddha-nitamba-bimba-lalitām vande = 'ravinda =

sthitām //

(A, p. 219 ; B, p. 141)

N.B. Ref. *Nibandha*.

The complexion of the goddess *Śrī* is like the colour of gold, and she is being bathed by four white elephants with the golden (*hiraṇmaya*) jars of nectar held in their raised trunks. She holds two lotuses in two [upper] hands, her other two [lower] hands exhibiting the *vara* and *abhaya* poses [in the right and left respectively]. She wears a crown bright with the lustre of gems and silk cloth (*Sari*) and is seated or standing on a lotus.

N. B. For the poses of hands, see under No. VI.

3. Called *Hari's Wife*.

Māṇikya-pratima-prabhāṁ hima-nibhais = tuṅgaiś =
 caturbhir = gajair =
 hast-āgr-āhita-ratna-kumbha-salilair = āsicyamānām sadā /
 hast-ābjair = vara-dānam = ambuja-yug-abhītīr = dadhānām
 Hareḥ
 kāntām kāṅkṣita-pārijāta-latikām vande saroj-āsanām //

(A, p. 220 ; B, p. 142)

The complexion of Hari's wife is [red] like the colour of rubies. She is being bathed by four big snow-white elephants with the water from jars adorned with gems and held in their upraised trunks. She is seated on a lotus desiring to possess the *pārijāta* creeper and holds in two of her hands two lotuses, her other two hands exhibiting the *varada* and *abhaya* poses.

N. B. For the poses of hands, see under No. VI.

CXXII. *Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa*

May be called *Ardhanārī-Nārāyaṇa*. Cf. *Ardhanārīśvara*.

Vidyuc-candra-nibhaṁ vapuḥ Kamalajā-Vaikunṭhāyor =
 ekatām
 prāptam sneha-rasena ratna-vilasat-bhūṣā-bhar-ālankṛ-
 tam /
 vidyā-pankaja-darpaṇān maṇimayaṁ kumbhaṁ sarojaṁ
 gadāṁ
 śaṅkhaṁ cakram = amūni bibhṛat = amitām diśyāc =
 chriyaṁ vaḥ sadā //

(A, pp. 292-93 ; B, p. 192)

The unification of the two forms of Kamalajā (Lakṣmī) and Vaikunṭha (Viṣṇu) into one resulted from the depth of their love for each other. This combined form is adorned with ornaments and holds manuscript, lotus, mirror and a jar full of gems [for the goddess] as well as lotus, mace, conch-shell and discus [for the god].

N. B. The name Vaikunṭha here does not appear to be

used in the technical sense of the *Vaikuṇṭha-Caturmūrti* form of Viṣṇu having four faces on four sides, the front one exhibiting a male's, the back one a female's, the left one a boar's and the right one a lion's (i. e. man-lion's).

CXXIII. *Vagatāmukhī*

1. Madhye sudh-ābdhi-maṇi-maṇḍapa-ratna-vedī-
 simhāsan-opari-gatām paripīta-varṇām /
 pīt-āmba-ābharana-mālya-vibhūṣit-āṅgīm
 Devīm smarāmi dhṛta-mudgara-vairi-jihvām //
 jihv-āgram = ādāya karaṇa Devīm
 vāmena śatrum paripīdayantīm /
 gad-ābhigāhena ca dakṣiṇena
 pīt-āmba-ādhyām dvi-bhujām namāmi //

(A, pp. 575-76 ; B, p. 376)

N. B. Ref. *Divyatantra*,

The Devī is seated on the throne placed on an altar made of jewels under a bejewelled canopy in the ocean of nectar. Her complexion is deep yellow, and she wears yellow clothes and ornaments and a yellow garland. She has two hands and holds the tongue of the enemy by the left and strikes him with a club held in the right one. She is gorgeous in her yellow cloth (*Sari*).

2. Gambhīrāṇ = ca mad-onmattām svarṇa-kānti-sama-
 prabhām /
 catur-bhujām tri-nayanām kamal-āsana-samsthītām //
 mudgarām dakṣiṇe pāśam vāme jihvāṇ = ca vajrakam /
 pīt-āmba-dharām Devīm dṛḍha-pīṇa-payodharām //
 hema-kunḍala-bhūṣāṇ = ca svarṇa-simhāsana-sthitām //

(A, p. 578 ; B, p. 377)

The appearance of the goddess is grave, and she is drunk. Her fair complexion resembles the colour of gold. She has three eyes and four hands and is seated on a lotus placed on

a golden throne. In her two right hands, she holds club and noose, and one of her two left hands holds the enemy's tongue and the other the thunderbolt. She is clad in yellow clothes and has developed breasts. She wears golden ear-rings and ornaments.

CXXIV. *Vaṭuka-bhairava*

A. *Sāttvika*.

Vande bālaṁ sphaṭikā-saḍṣaṁ kuṇḍal-odbhāsi-vaktraṁ
vidy-ākālpair = nava-maṇimayaḥ kiṅkiṇī-nūpur-ādyaiḥ /
dīpt-ākāraṁ viśada-vasanaṁ su-prasannaṁ tri-netraṁ
hast-abjābhyāṁ Vaṭukam = aṇiṣaṁ śūla-daṇḍau dadhā-
nam //

(A, p. 331 ; B, p. 217)

N. B. Ref. *Nibandha*.

Vaṭuka is a boy having the complexion resembling the colour of crystal and wears two earrings. He holds a manuscript and also wears ornaments made of nine kinds of gems, such as *kiṅkiṇī* (bells or tinkling ornaments) and anklets. He has a shining appearance, white clothes, pleasant face and three eyes. He has trident (or spear) and club in his hands.

N. B. With the epithet *bāla*, cf. Mahākāla described as a *śiṣu*. *Kiṅkiṇī-nūpura* may mean anklets adorned with small bells.

B. *Rājasa*.

Udyad-bhāskara-sannibhaṁ tri-nayanaṁ rakt-āṅgarāga-
srajaṁ
smer-āsyam varadaṁ kapālam = abhayaṁ śūlaṁ dadhānam
karaiḥ
nila-grīvam = udāra-bhūṣaṇa-śataṁ śītāṁsu-cūḍ-ojvalam
bandhūk-āruṇa-vāsasaṁ bhaya-haraṁ Devaṁ sadā
bhāvaye //

(A, p. 331 ; B, p. 217)

N.B. Ref. Nibandha.

The god's complexion is red like the colour of the rising sun. He wears red garlands and uses perfume and holds skull and trident (or spear) in two hands, the other two hands exhibiting the *varada* and *abhaya* poses. His throat is blue, and he has a smiling face and three eyes. He wears numerous ornaments and has the moon to adorn his crest. His clothes are red like the *bandhūka* flower.

N. B. Nilagrīva is the same as Nilakaṇṭha (Śiva). For the poses of hands, see under No. VI.

C. Tāmasa. Called Maheśa (Śiva).

Dhyāyen = Nīl-ādri-kāntam śaśi-śakala-dharam munda-
mālam Maheśam
dig-vastram piṅgal-ākṣam ḍamarum = atha sṛṇim khadga-
śūl-ābhayāni /
nāgam ghaṇṭām kapālam kara-sarasiruhair - bibhratām
bhīma-daṁṣṭram
sarp-ākālpam tri-netram maṇimaya-vilasat-kiṅkiṇī-nūpur-
āḍhyam / /
(A, p. 331 ; B, p. 217)

N. B. Ref. Nibandha. V. 1. śaṅkha for khadga.

The complexion of Maheśa is blue like the Nīlādri (Blue Mountain), and he wears the crescent [above his forehead]. He is naked, has brown eyes and wears a garland of severed human heads. He holds kettle-drum, goad, sword, trident (or spear), *abhaya* (i.e. the *abhaya* pose of hand), a *nāga* (serpent), bell and skull. His teeth are terrible and he wears snakes as his ornaments. He is three-eyed and wears bejewelled *kiṅkiṇīs* (tinkling ornaments) and anklets (or, anklets endowed with small bells).

CXXV. *Varāha*

Called *Ādya-Varāha* (Primeval Boar).

Ā-pādam jānu-deśād = vara-kanaka-nibham nābhi-deśād =
 adhastān =
 mukt-ābham kaṇṭha-deśāt = taruna-ravi-nibham mastakān
 = nīla = bhāsam /
 ide hastair = dadhānam rathacaraṇa-darau khaḍga-kheṭau
 gad-ākhyam
 śaktim dān-ābhaye ca Kṣīti-dharaṇa-lasad-damṣṭram =
 Ādyam Varāham //
 (A, p. 305 ; B, p. 201)

N. B. Ref. Prapañcasāra.

Ādya-Varāha's body is gold-coloured from the feet to the
 knees, pearl-coloured from the knees to the navel, red from
 the navel to the throat and blue from the throat to the head.
 He holds, in his hands, discus (*ratha-caraṇa*), conch-shell (*dara*),
 sword, shield, mace, spear, *dāna* (i.e. the *vara* or *varada* pose
 of hand) and *abhaya* (i.e. the *abhaya* pose of hand). He holds
 Kṣīti (the Earth-goddess) on his tusk.

N.B. For the poses of hands, see under No. VI.

CXXVI. *Varṇinī*

See under *Pracaṇḍacaṇḍikā-Chinnamastā*.

CXXVII. *Varṇeśvarī*

Called *Samhāra-mātṛkā*. See *Vāgīśvarī*.

Akṣa-srajam harina-potam = udagra-ṭaṅkam
 vidyām karair = avirataṁ dadhatīm tri-netrām /
 ardh-endu-maulim = aruṇām = aravinda-rāmām
 Varṇeśvarīm pranamata stana-bhāra-namrām //

(A, p. 145 ; B, p. 90)

In her four hands, *Varṇeśvarī* holds rosary, the young of
 a deer, *ṭaṅka* (a stone-cutting chisel or axe) and manuscript.
 She is three-eyed and has the crescent adorning her head.
 She is red-complexioned and is beautified by (i.e. seated on)
 a lotus. She is stooping at the weight of her heavy breasts.

CXXVIII. *Vallabhārdha* (*Ardhanārī*)See *Mārtanḍa*.CXXIX. *Vasumatī*Same as *Kṣīti*, *Bhūmī*, etc.See under *Viṣṇu-Śrīkṛṣṇa*.CXXX. *Vāgadhidevatā*Same as *Vāgīśvarī* ; also called *Vāgdevatā*, etc.CXXXI. *Vāgīśvarī*See *Varṇeśvarī*.1. Called *Vāgdevatā*.

Taruṇa-śakalam — indor — bibhratī śubhra-kāntiḥ
 kuca-bhara-namit-āṅgī sannīṣaṇṇā sit-ābje /
 nija-kara-kamal-odyal-lekhanī-pustaka-śrīḥ
 sakala-vibhava-siddhyai pātu Vāgdevatā naḥ //

(A, p. 197 ; B, p. 126)

N.B. Ref. *Nibandha*.

Vāgdevatā is white-complexioned and has the crescent
 [above her forehead]. She is seated on a white lotus and is
 stooping at the weight of her heavy breasts. She holds a pen
 in one hand and a manuscript in the other

2. Called *Vāgdevatā*.

Śubhrām svaccha-vilepa-mālya-vasanām śītāmśu-khaṇḍ-
 ojjvalām
 vyākhyām = akṣa-guṇām sudh-āḍhya-kalasām vidyāñ = ca
 hast-āmbujaiḥ /
 bibhrāṇām kamal-āsanām kuca-natām Vāgdevatām sa-
 smitām
 vande vāg-vibhava-pradām tri-nayanām saubhāgya-sampat-
 karīm //

(A, p. 198 ; B, p. 127)

N.B. Ref. *Nibandha*.

Vāgdevatā is white-complexioned and uses white perfume (sandal paste) and wears white garlands and clothes. She is endowed with the crescent [as an ornament of her head] and holds in her hands *vyākhyā* (i.e. the *vyākhyā* or *jñāna* pose of hand), rosary, a jar of nectar and a manuscript. She sits on a lotus and stoops owing to the weight of her developed breasts. She is smiling and has three eyes.

N. B. For the pose of hand, see under No. LVI.

3. Called *Vāṇī*.

Vāṇīm pūrṇa-niṣākar-ojvala-mukhīm karpūra-kunda-
prabhām
candr-ārdh-āṅkita-mastakām nija-karaiḥ sambibhratīm—
ādarāt /
viṇām=akṣa-guṇām sudh-āḍhya-kalasaṁ vidyāñ=ca
tuṅga-stanīm
divyair—ābharaṇair—vibhūṣita-tanuṁ haṁs-ādhirūḍhām
bhaje / /
(A, p. 199-200 ; B, p. 128)

N.B. Ref. *Nibandha*.

Vāṇī is white like camphor and *kunda* flower. Her face resembles the full moon and her head is beautified by the half-moon. In her [four] hands, she holds lute, rosary, jar of nectar and manuscript. She rides a swan, has developed breasts and is adorned with beautiful ornaments.

4. Called *Vāgadhidevatā*.

Āsīnā kamale karair=japa-vaṭīm padma-dvayaṁ pustakām
bibhṛānā taruṇ-endu-baddha-mukutā mukṭ-endu-kunda-
prabhā /
bhāl-onmilita-locanā kuca-bhara-klāntā bhavad-bhūṭaye
bhūyād=Vāgadhidevatā muni-gaṇair=āsevyamān=āni-
śam //
(A, p. 201 ; B, p. 129)

N.B. Ref. *Nibandha*.

The goddess Vāgadhidevatā is seated on a lotus and holds, in her hands, rosary, two lotuses and manuscript. Her white complexion resembles the colour of pearls, the moon and the *kunda* flower, and she has the crescent fixed with her crown. She has a third staring eye on her forehead and suffers from the heaviness of her breasts.

5. Called *Queen of Vāc or Speech*.

Muktā-hār-āvadātām śīrasi śaśi-kal-ālaṅkṛtām bāhubhiḥ
śvair=vyākhyām varṇ-ākhyā-mālām maṇimaya-kāśaśam
pustakāñ = c = odvahantīm /
āpīn-ottuṅga-vakṣoruha-bhara-vilasan-madhyadeśām =
Adhṛgām

Vācām = īde cirāya tri-bhuvana-namitām puṇḍarīke

niṣaṇṇām / /

(A, p. 203 ; B, p. 130)

N.B. Ref. *Sārada* (*Sāradaṭilaka Tantra*) and *Nibandha*.

The complexion of the Goddess of Speech is white like the colour of the pearl necklace, and she has the crescent adorning her head. She holds, in her hands, *vyākhyā* (i.e. the pose of hand also called *jñāna-mudrā*), a garland of letters (*varṇ-ākhyā-mālā*), a jar full of gems and a manuscript. She is seated on a white lotus and is stooping owing to the heaviness of her developed breasts.

N.B. For the pose of hand, see under No. LVI.

6. Regarded as *Vāgīśvari*.

* * *

Muktā-kānti-nibhām Devīm jyotsnā-jāla-vikāśinīm /
muktā-hāra-yutām śubhrām śaśi-khaṇḍa-vimaṇḍitām / /
bibhratīm dakṣa-hastābhyām vyākhyām varaṇasya māli-
kāñ /

amṛtena tathā pūrṇam ghaṭam divyañ = ca pustakam / /
dadhatīm vāma-hastābhyām pīna-stana-bhar-ānvitām /
madhye kṣīṇām tathā svacchām nānā-ratna-vibhūṣitām / /

(A, p. 600 ; B, p. 392)

N.B. Ref. *Svāyambhuvamāṭṭkā Tantra*. V. 1. *varṇ-ākhyā-mālikām. Dakṣa = dakṣiṇa.*

Vāgīśvarī's complexion resembles the colour of pearls, and she shines like moonlight. She is white and is adorned with the crescent [above her forehead]. She holds in her two right hands *vyākhyā* (i.e. exhibits the pose of hand called *vyākhyā*- or *jñāna-mudrā*) and the garland of letters and, in her two left hands, a jar full of nectar and a manuscript. She has slender waist and is stooping at the weight of her heavy breasts. She is bright and is adorned with many jewels.

N.B. For the pose of hand, see under No. LVI.

7. * * *

Jyotiḥ-puñja-nibhām Devīm parivāra-samanvitām /
var-ābhaya-yutām haste mudrā-pustaka-dhāriṇīm / /

(A, p. 601 ; B, p. 392)

The goddess (Devī) resembles a mass of lustre and is surrounded by attendants. She holds, in her hands, *vara* (i.e. the *varada* pose of hand), *abhaya* (i.e. the *abhaya* pose of hand), *mudrā* (i.e. the *vyākhyā*- or *jñāna-mudrā*) and a manuscript.

N.B. For the poses of hands, see under Nos. VI and LVI.

8. Nābhi cakre sthitām saumyām rakt-ākārām vicintayet /
kṣaum-ābaddha-nitambāñ = ca rakt-ābharaṇa-bhūṣitām / /
pās-āṅkuṣa-dharām divyām var-ābhaya-yutām punaḥ /
dṛṣṭyā c-āmṛta-varṣinyā pūrayantī manorathān / /

(A, p. 602 ; B, p. 393)

The appearance of the goddess is calm and her complexion is red. She wears silk clothes and red ornaments and holds, in two of her hands, noose and goad and also exhibits the *vara* and *abhaya* poses in the other two hands. She is very beautiful and has kind looks.

N.B. She is different from the goddess as described in the other verses. For the poses of hands, see under No. VI.

9. Called *Vāgdevatā*. Regarded as *Bāhya-mātṛkā*.

Pañcāśal-lipibhir=vibhakta-mukha-doh-pan-madhya-
 vakṣasthalām
 bhāsvan-mauli-nibaddha-candra-śakalām—āpīna-tuṅga-
 stanīm /
 mudrām—akṣa-guṇām sudh-ādhyā-kalasaṁ vidyān=ca
 hast-āmbujair=
 bibhrāṇām viśada-prabhām tri-nayanām Vāgdevatām=
 āśraye / /

(A, pp. 143-44 ; B, p. 89)

Vāgdevatā's face, arms, feet, waist and chest are marked by the fifty letters of the alphabet. Her head is adorned by the moon fixed to it, and she has very developed breasts. She holds *mudrā* (i.e. exhibits the *vyākhyā* or *jñāna* pose of hand), rosary, jar of nectar and manuscript in her [four] hands. She is white-complexioned and three-eyed.

N.B. The reference to 50 letters of the alphabet seems to suggest the Bengali alphabet which recognises a few more signs and letters in addition to the letters of the Nāgarī alphabet (although it also omits a few letters of the latter) ; e.g. 12 vowels (excluding the long forms of *ṛ* and *ḷ*) + 25 consonants from *ka* to *ma* + *ya*, *ra*, *la*, *va*, *śa*, *ṣa*, *sa* and *ha* (8) + *anusvāra*, *visarga*, *candrabindu* (*ānunāsika*), final form of *ta*, and *kṣa* (5), together making 50. For 51 letters of the alphabet, see under No. CXXXVIII. For the pose of hand, see under No. LVI.

CXXXII. *Vāṇī*

Same as *Vāgīśvari*, etc.

CXXXIII. *Vāsudeva*

See *Viṣṇu-Śrīkṛṣṇa*.

CXXXIV. *Viśālākṣī* (*Ambikā*)

See *Ambikā*. Regarded as *Śivā*.

CXXXV. *Viśvadhātṛī*

Same as *Bhūmī*, *Vasumatī*, etc. See under *Viṣṇu-Śrīkṛṣṇa*.

CXXXVI. *Viṣṇu-Śrīkṛṣṇa*

See *Nṛsiṃha*, *Varāha*, *Hayagrīva*; cf. *Harihara*. See also under *Śivā*.

1. Called *Viṣṇu*.

Udyat-pradyotana-śata ruciṃ tapta-hem-āvadātāṃ
pārśva-dvandve Jaladhisutayā Viśvadhātṛyā ca juṣṭam /
nānā-ratn-ollasita-vividh-ākālpam - āpīta-vastrāṃ
Viṣṇuṃ vande dara-kamala-kaumodakī-cakra-pāṇim / /

(A, p. 237 ; B, p. 155)

N.B. Ref. *Gautamīya*.

Viṣṇu has the red lustre of a hundred rising suns, and his complexion is bright like the colour of burnt gold. He has Jaladhisutā (the Ocean's Daughter, i.e. Lakṣmī) on one (i.e. right) side and Viśvadhātṛī (the Earth Goddess) on the other (i.e. left). He has yellow clothes and wears various kinds of bejewelled ornaments. He holds the conch-shell (*dara*), the lotus, the mace called *kaumodakī* and the discus.

2. Udyat-koṭi-divākar-ābham - anīṣaṃ śaṅkhaṃ gadāṃ

paṅkajam
cakram vibhṛatam - Indirā-Vasumatī-saṃśobhi-pārśva-
dvayam /
koṭi-āṅgada-hāra-kuṇḍala-dharam pīt-āmbaram kaustubh-
od-
diptaṃ viśva-dharam-śva-vakṣasi lasac-chrīvatsa-cihnam
bhaje / /

(A, pp. 246-47 ; B, p. 162)

N.B. Ref. *Prapañcasāra*.

The god's [red] complexion resembles the lustre of a crore of rising suns. He holds conch-shell, mace, lotus and discus and is flanked by Indirā (Lakṣmī) and Vasumatī (the Earth Goddess). He wears the crown, armlets (*āṅgada*), necklace

and earrings as well as yellow clothes and the jewel called *kaustubha*. There is the *śrīvatsa* mark on his chest.

N.B. The *kaustubha* jewel and the *śrīvatsa* mark are particularly associated with the god Viṣṇu.

3. Called *Viṣṇu*. Regarded as Vāsudeva (see No. 15 below).

Viṣṇum śārada-candra-koṭi-saḍṣam śaṅkham rathāṅgam
gadā-
ambhojam dadhatam sit-ābja-nīlayam kāntyā jagan-
mohanam /
ābaddh-āṅgada-hāra-kunḍala-mahāmaulim sphurat-kaṇ-
kaṇam
śrīvats-āṅkam = udāra-kaustubha-dharam vande munīn-
draiḥ stutam //
(A, p. 291 ; B, p. 191)

Viṣṇu has [bright complexion resembling] the lustre of a crore of autumnal moons. He holds conch-shell, discus, mace and lotus in his four hands and lives in the white lotus. He charms the world by his beauty and wears armlets (*aṅgada*), necklace, ear-rings, bracelets (*kaṅkaṇa*) and other ornaments. He bears the *śrīvatsa* mark and wears the jewel called *kaustubha*.

4. Called *Govinda*. Regarded as *Śrīkrṣṇa*.

Phull-endīvara-kāntim=indu-vadanaṁ barh-āvataṁsa-
priyam
śrīvats-āṅkam = udāra-kaustubha-dharam pīt-āmbaram
sundaram /
gopīnām nayan-otpāl-ārcita-tanum go-gopa-saṅgh-āvṛ-
tam
Govindam kala-veṇu-vādana-param divy-āṅga-bhūṣam
bhaje //
(A, p. 262 ; B, p. 172)

Govinda's [dark] complexion resembles the colour of a

blue lotus, and his face is beautiful like the moon. His head-dress is made of peacock's tail-feathers, and he bears the *śrīvatsa* sign and wears the *kaustubha* jewel and yellow clothes. He is surrounded by cattle and cowherds and is playing on the flute. His body is adorned with beautiful ornaments.

5. Called *Kṛṣṇa*.

Śaṅkha-cakra-dhanur-bāṇa-pāś-āṅkuśa-dhara = 'ruṇaḥ /
veṇuṁ dhamaṇa dhṛtaṁ dṛbhyāṁ dhyeyaḥ Kṛṣṇo
divākare //
(A, p. 265 ; B, p. 174)

Kṛṣṇa is red-complexioned and plays the flute holding it in two hands and also holds the conch-shell, discus, bow, arrow, noose and goad in the other [six] hands.

N.B. The red complexion of this eight-armed *Kṛṣṇa* in the orb of the Sun shows that he is really *Viṣṇu*.

6. Called *Acyuta*.

* * *

Udyad-āditya-śaṅkāśa-maṇi-siṁhāśan-āmbuje /
samāsīno = 'cyuto dhyeyo druta-hāṭaka-sannibhaḥ //
samān-odita-candr-ārka-taḍit-koṭi-sama-dyutiḥ /
sarv-āṅga-sundaraḥ saumyaḥ sarv-ābharana-bhūṣitaḥ //
pīta-vāśaś = cakra-śaṅkha-gadā-padm-ojvalad-bhujah /
anārat-occhalad-ratna-dhār-augha-kalasam sprśan / /
vāma-pād-āmbuj-āgreṇa muṣṇatā pallava-cchavim /
Rukmiṇī-Satyabhāme = 'sya mūrdhni ratn-augha-dhārayā /
siṁcantyau dakṣa-vāmasthe sva-doḥ-stha-kalas-otthayā / /
* * *
(A, p. 270 ; B, p. 178)

N.B. *Dakṣa* = *dakṣiṇa*. *Muṣṇatā* = *corayatā*, *khaṇḍayatā* ; *etena raktaṁ pāda-talam* = *iti sūctam*. It has been said, '*Satyabhāme* = '*sya*'—*asya Śrīkṛṣṇasya* ; *atra sandhir* = *ārṣaḥ*.

Acyuta having the [red] lustre of the rising sun is seated on a lotus placed on a bejewelled throne. His complexion resembles the colour of molten gold and his appearance is

dazzling like crores of suns, moons and lightnings. He is calm and beautiful and wears all kinds of ornaments as well as yellow clothes. He holds conch-shell, discus, mace and lotus and is flanked by Rukmīnī on the right and Satyabhāmā on the left, who are bathing him with flows of gems from jars held in their hands.

N.B. Here also Kṛṣṇa has Viṣṇu's complexion.

7. Called *Hari* (see Nos. 8, 10 and 11).

Vām-ordhva-haste dadhataṁ vidyā-sarvasva-pustakam /
akṣa-mālānī=ca 'dakṣ-ordhve sphāṭikīm mātṛkā-mayīm / //
śabda-brahma-mayaṁ veṇuṁ=adhaḥ-pāṇi-dvay-eritam /
gāyantaṁ pīta-vasanaṁ śyāmalaṁ komala-cchavim / //
barhi-barha-kṛt-ottamaṁ sarvajñaṁ sarva-vedibhiḥ /
upāsitaṁ muni-gaṇair=upatiṣṭhed-Dharaṁ sadā / //

(A, p. 275 ; B, p. 181)

Hari holds a manuscript in the upper left and the crystal-rosary in the upper right hand and is engaged in playing on the flute with the two lower hands. His complexion is dark and he wears yellow clothes. His head-dress is made of peacock's tail-feathers.

N.B. Here Kṛṣṇa is called Hari ; but his complexion is dark. The manuscript and rosary have been put in his hands owing to his association with Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī.

8. Called *Hari* (see Nos. 7, 10 and 11).

* * *

Ratna-simhāsane dhyāyed—upaviṣṭaṁ kaj-opari / //
sajala-jalada-śyāmaṁ rakta-padma-dal-ekṣaṇam /
rakta-padma-spurat-pāda-pāṇibhyāṁ parimaṇḍitam / //
nava-ratna-samārabdha-bhūṣaṇaiḥ paribhūṣitam /
Śrī-yukta-vakṣasi bhrājat-kaustubh-odbhāsīt-āmbaram / //
tāra-hār-āvali-ramyāṁ śrīvats-āṅkita-vakṣasam /
rocanā-tilaka-prānta-kuntala-bhramarāyitam / //
Kandarpa-cāpa-saḍṣā-cilli-mālā-virājitam /
aneka-ratna-samyukta-sphuran-makara-kuṇḍalam / //

barhi-barha kṛt-ottamsaṁ sarvajñaṁ sarva-vedibhiḥ /
upāsitaṁ muni-gaṇair-upātiṣṭhed=Dharmiṁ sadā / /

(A, p. 277 ; B, p. 182)

Seated on a lotus (*kaja*) placed on a bejewelled throne, Hari is dark-complexioned like the colour of dense clouds and has eyes resembling the petals of a red lotus. His hands and feet resemble red lotuses. His ornaments are made of the nine kinds of jewels. He has Śrī on his chest and wears the jewel called *kaustubha* which makes his clothes shining. He has the *śrivatsa* marks on his chest and wears pearl necklaces. The *tilaka* mark on his forehead is made by the bright yellow pigment called *gorocanā*, both sides of the marks being covered by small curly locks of hair. The god wears ear-rings of the shape of a *makara* (sea-monster) and his head-dress is made of peacock's tail-feathers. His eye-brows are like Kandarpa's bow.

9. Called *Jagannātha*.

Bhagna-vidruma-saṅkāśaṁ sarva-tejo-mayaṁ vapuḥ /
kirīṭinaṁ kuṇḍalinaṁ keyūra-valay-ānvitam / /
muktā-sannaddha-sadratna-tulākoṭi-samujjvalam /
nān-ālaṅkāra-subhagaṁ pīt-āmbara-yug-āvṛtam / /
Garuḍ-opari sannaddha-rakta-paṅkaja-madhyagam / /
uttapta-hema saṅkāśaṁ Lakṣmīṁ vām-oru-saṁsthitāṁ /
sarv-ālaṅkāra-subhagāṁ śukla-vāso-yug-āvṛtāṁ / /
sa-kāmāṁ līlayā Devīṁ mohayantāṁ punaḥ punaḥ / /
śaṅkha-cakra-gadā-padma-pāś-āṅkuśa-dhanuḥ-śarāṇ /
dhārayantāṁ Jagannāthaṁ rakta-padm-āruṇ-ekṣaṇam / /

(A, p. 278 ; B, p. 183)

N.B. Ref. *Nibandha*. This is not Jagannātha of Purī.

Jagannātha has a lustre resembling a freshly broken coral. He wears a crown, ear-rings, armlets (*keyūra*), bracelets (*valaya*) and bejewelled *tulākoṭi* (anklets). He also wears various other ornaments and two yellow pieces of cloth (*dhōṭi* and *uttariya*). He sits on a seat made of gems and placed on the back of Garuḍa. He holds conch-shell, discus, mace, lotus, noose,

goad, bow and arrow in his [eight] hands and looks at Lakṣmī seated on his left thigh. She is adorned with all ornaments and clad in white upper and under clothings (*Sari* in two pieces. Her complexion resembles the colour of gold.

10. Called *Vṛndāvana-gata Hari* (cf. Nos. 7, 8 and 11).

Kalāya-kusuma-śyāmam Vṛndāvana-gatam Harim /
gopa-gopi-gav-āvitam pita-vastra-yug-āvṛtam / /
nān-ālaṅkāra-subhagam kaustubh-odbhāsi-vakṣasam / * * *
śaṅkha-cakra-lasad-bāhum veṇuṁ hasta-dvay-eritam / /

(A, p. 280 ; B, p. 184)

The god Hari of Vṛndāvana (i.e. Kṛṣṇa) is dark like the *kalāya* flower and wears two pieces of yellow cloth (*dhori* and *uttariya*). He is surrounded by cattle, cowherds and cowherdesses and wears various ornaments, his chest being adorned by the jewel called *kaustubha*. Two of his hands hold conch-shell and discus, the other two holding the flute.

11. Called *Hari* (see Nos. 7, 8 and 10).

Tāpiṇja-cchavir=āṅkagām priyatamām svarṇa-prabhām =
ambuja-
prodyad-vāma-bhujām sva-vāma-bhujay=āśliṣyan sa-citta-
smayām /
śliṣyantīm svayam=anya-hasta-vilasat-sauvarṇa vetraś=
ciraṁ

pāyān=naḥ śaṇa-sūna-pīta-vasano nānā-vibhūṣo Hariḥ / /

(A, p. 282 ; B, p. 185)

N. B. V. 1. *sa-cint-āsmayām = vilakṣaṇa-prastara-ghaṭṭita-mālā-vliṣṭayā* (sic) ; *pāyād = vo = 'śana-mūla*^o.

Hari is dark-complexioned like the *tamāla* tree. His gold-complexioned wife is holding a lotus in her left hand and is embracing him [with her right hand] and is being embraced by her husband by his left hand. He holds a gold cane-stick in another [right] hand and wears yellow clothes resembling the *śaṇa* flower in colour. He also wears various ornaments.

12. Varad-ābhaya-hastābhyām śliṣyantam sv-āṅkage priye /

padm-otpala-kaie tābhyām śliṣṭam cakra-gad-ojivalam //
(A, p. 183 ; B, p. 186)

The god, who holds discus and mace in two of his four hands, is embracing his two wives (Rukmīṇī and Satyabhāmā) seated on his thighs with two hands exhibiting the *vara* and *abhaya* poses. His wives with hands holding [red] and blue lotuses (*padma* and *urpāla*) respectively are also embracing him.

N.B. For the poses of hands, see under No. VI.

13. Called *Mukunda* (see No. 16). Same as *Bāla-Gopāla*.

Avyād = vyākoṣa-nīl-āmbuja-rucir = aruṇ-āmbhoja-netro =
'mbujastho
bālo jaṅghā-katīra-sthala-kalita-ranat-kiṅkiṇīko Mukun-
dah /
dorbhyām haiyaṅgavīnam dadhad = ati-vimalam pāyasam
viśva-vandyo
go-gopī-gopa-vīto ruru-nakha-vīlasat-kaṇṭha-bhūṣaś = ciraṁ
vaḥ //
(A, p. 286 ; B, p. 188)

Mukunda's complexion resembles the blossoming blue lotus and his eyes are like red lotuses. He is a boy standing on a lotus. The small bells attached to the ornaments at his leg and waist are ringing. He is surrounded by cattle, cowherds and cowherdesses and holds butter in one hand and *pāyasa* (rice boiled in milk with sugar) in the other. His throat is adorned by the animal's (tiger's) claws.

N. B. *Jaṅghā* (leg) probably means here 'ankle'.

14. Called *Gopa-bālaka* (Cowboy). Same as *Bāla-Gopāla*.

Pañca-varṣam = ati-dṛptam = aṅgaṇe .
dhāvamānam = ati-cañcal-ekṣaṇam /
kiṅkiṇī-valaya-hāra-nūpurair =
añcitam namata Gopa-bālakam //

(A, p. 288 ; B, p. 188)

The god, [in the form of] a cowherd boy of five years of

age, is running in the compound of the house. He has fickle eyes and is adorned with *valaya* (bracelets), necklace and anklets endowed with small bells.

15. Called *Vāsudeva* (see No. 3 above).

Śrīmat-kalpādrū-mūl-odgata-kamala-lasat-karṇikā-saṁs-
thito
yas=tac-chākh-ālambī-padm-odara-vīśarad-asamkhyātā-
ratn-ābhiṣiktaḥ /
hem-ābhaḥ sva-prabhābhis = tri-bhuvanam = akhilam
bhāsayan Vāsudevaḥ
pāyād = vaḥ pāyas-ādo = 'navarata-navanīt-āmṛt-āśī-vaś-
īśaḥ / /
(A, p. 289 ; B, p. 189)

Vāsudeva stays on the pericarp of a lotus arising from the root of the *kalpa* tree and is bathed by the flow of numerous gems falling from the lotuses hanging from the branches of that tree. His complexion resembles the colour of gold and his lustre brightens the whole world. He eats *pāyasa*, butter (*navanīta*) and nectar.

N.B. The description seems to refer to Bāla-Gopāla ; but his complexion is not dark.

16. Called *Mukunda* (see No. 13). Same as *Bāla-Gopāla*.

Āraṇṇya-odyāna-kalpādruma-tala-vilasat-svarṇa-dol-ādhirū-
dham
gopībhyāṁ preṅkhyamānaṁ vikasita-nava-bandhūka-
sindūra-bhāsam /
bālaṁ lol-ālak-āntaṁ kaṭi-taṭa-vilasat-kṣudra-ghanṭā-
ghaṭ-āḍhyaṁ
vande śārdūla-kāmāṅkuṣa-lasita-gal-ākālpa-dīptaṁ
Mukundaṁ / /
(A, p. 290 ; B, p. 190)

N. B. Ref. *Nibandha*.

Mukunda is on a golden swing under the *kalpa* tree in a garden of red flowers. Two cowherd girls are swinging him from two sides. His complexion is red like the colour of the freshly blossomed *bandhūka* flower and of vermillion. He is a child with trembling locks of hair. Small bells are ringing at his waist and his throat is adorned with a necklace bearing the tiger's claws.

CXXXVII. *Vaikuṇṭha*

See under *Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa*.

CXXXVIII. *Śaktayaḥ*

See also under *Śivā* ; cf. *Rudrāḥ*.

* * *

Etā Rudr-āṅka-pīṭhasthāḥ sindūr-āruṇa-vigrahāḥ /
rakt-otpala-kapālābhyām=alaṅkṛta-kar-āmbujāḥ //
(A, p. 309 ; B, p. 203)

N.B. Ref. *Nibandha*.

Of the Svaraśaktis (16 in number beginning with Pūrṇodarī) and the Vyañjanaśaktis (35 in number beginning with Mahākālī), the latter are each seated on the lap of the 35 Rudras. They have red complexion like the colour of vermillion and hold red lotus and skull-vessel in their two hands.

N.B. For 50 letters of the alphabet, see No. CXXXI.

CXXXIX. *Śambhu*.

Same as *Śiva*. See under *Annapūrṇā-Nityā*.

CXL. *Śiva*

Same as *Īśa*, *Tryambaka*, *Śambhu*, etc. See also *Caṇḍeśvara*, *Dakṣiṇāmūrti*, *Nilakaṇṭha*, *Mṛtyuṅjaya*, etc. Cf. *Ardhanārīśvara*.

See under *Guhyakālī*.

1. Called *Īśa*.

Muktā-pīta-payoda-mautika-javā-varṇair=mukhaiḥ
pañcabhis=

try-akṣair = aṁcitam = Īsam = indu-mukutaṁ pūrṇ-endu-
 koṭi-prabham /
 śūlam ṭaṅka-kṛpāṇa-vajra-dahanān = nāgendra-ghaṇṭ-
 āṅkuśān
 pāśam bhīti-haram dadhānam = amit-ākālpa-ojval-āṅgam
 bhaje //
 (A, p. 312 ; B, p. 206)

N.B. Ref. *Yāmala*.

Īsa's five faces are respectively white like pearls, yellow, dark like clouds, bright like pearls and red like the *javā* flower. Each of the faces has three eyes and the moon adorns the god's crown. He has the lustre of a crore of full moons and holds trident, *ṭaṅka* (stone-cutting axe or chisel), sword, thunderbolt, fire, serpent, bell, goad, noose and *bhīti-hara* (i.e. the *abhaya* pose of hand). His body is adorned with numerous ornaments.

N.B. For the poses of hands, see under No. VI.

2. Bandhūk-ābham tri-netraṁ śaśi-śakala-dharam smara-
 vaktraṁ vahantaṁ
 hastaiḥ śūlam kapālam varam = abhayadaṁ cāru-hāsam
 namāmi /
 vām-oru-sthambha-gāyāḥ karatala-vilasac-cāru-rakt-
 otpalāyā
 hasten = āśliṣṭa-deham maṇimaya-vīlasad-bhūṣaṇāyāḥ
 priyāyāḥ //
 (A, p. 314 ; B, p. 207)

N.B. Ref. *Nibandha*.

The god is red like the *bandhuka* flower and has three eyes and a smiling face. His laughter is charming. He has the crescent [above his forehead] and holds, in his hands, trident, skull-vessel, *varada* (i.e. the *vara* pose of hands) and *abhayada* (i.e. the *abhaya* pose of hands). His wife, holding a red lotus in one hand and embracing her husband with the other, wears many bejewelled ornaments.

N.B. For the poses of hand, see under No. VI.

3. Called $\bar{I}sa$.

Vande sindūra-varṇam mani-mukuta-lasac-cāru-candr-
 āvatamsam
 bhāl-odyan-netram — Īsam smita-mukha-kalam divya-
 bhūṣ-āṅgarāgam /
 vām-oru-nyasta-pāṇer = aruṇa-kuvalayam saṁdadhatyāḥ
 priyāyā
 vṛtt-ottuṅga-stan-āgre nihita-karatalam veda-tāṅk-eṣṭa-
 hastam / /
 (A, p. 315 ; B, p. 207)

N.B. Ref. Nibandha.

The complexion of the god Īśa is red like the colour of vermillion. The moon adorns his bejewelled crown, and there is a third eye on his forehead. He has a smiling face and his limbs bear excellent ornaments and perfumes. His wife places one hand on the left thigh and holds a red lotus with the other, a hand of the god being placed on her developed breasts. The hands of the god hold *veda* (manuscript), *ṭanka* (the stone-cutter's chisel or axe) and *iṣṭa* (i.e. the *vara* pose of hand).

N.B. For the poses of hand, see under No. VI.

4. Called *Maheśa* (*Śambhu*.)

Dhyāyen - nityam Maheśam Rajata-giri-nibham cāru-
candr-āvataṁsam
ratn-ākālpa-ojval-āṅgam paraśu-mṛga-var-ābhīti-hastam
prasannam /
padm-āsīnam samantāt stutam - amara-gaṇair - vyāghrā-
kṛttim vāsānam
viśv-ādyam viśva-bijam nikhila-bhaya-haram pañca-
vaktram tri-netram / /
(A, p. 324 ; B, p. 213)

N.B. Ref. Nibandha.

The complexion of Maheśa (Śambhu) is white like the colour of the Silver Mountain and his head is adorned by the

moon. He wears bejewelled ornaments and holds, in his hands, axe, deer, *vara* (i.e. the boon-offering pose of hands) and *abhīti* (i.e. the *abhaya* pose of hand). He sits on a lotus and wears tiger's skin. He has five faces and three eyes.

N.B. For the poses of hands, see under No. VI.

5. Called *Śiva* (*Lord of Kailāsa*). Regarded as *Tryambaka*.
Hastābhyām kalasa-dvay-āmṛta-rasair – āplāvayantaṁ

śīro
dvābhyām tau dadhataṁ mṛg-ākṣa-valaye dvābhyām
vahantaṁ param /
aṅka-nyasta-kara-dvay-āmṛta-ghaṭaṁ Kailāsa-kāntam
Śivam
svacch-āmbhoja-gataṁ nav-endu-mukutaṁ Devam Tri-
netraṁ bhaje //

(A, pp. 630-31 ; B, p. 411)

Two of the hands of Śiva, the lord of Kailāsa, hold two jars of nectar, his two other hands on the same side being engaged in besmearing his head with nectar. In two of the hands on the other side, he holds a deer and rosary, the other two being placed on his lap with a jar of nectar put on them. This three-eyed god is seated on a white lotus, his crown being adorned by the crescent.

6. Regarded as *Tryambaka*.

Svacchaṁ svacch-āravinda-sthitam – ubhaya-kare saṁs-
thitau pūrṇa-kumbhau
dvābhyām – eṇ-ākṣa-māle nija-kara-kamale dvau ghaṭau
nitya-pūrṇau /
dvābhyām tau ca sravantau śīrasi śaśi-kalām c – āmṛtaiḥ
plāvayantaṁ
dehaṁ devo dadhānaḥ pradiśatu viśad-ākālpa-jālaḥ śriyam
vaḥ //

(A, pp. 632-33 ; B, p. 413)

The god is white-complexioned and is seated on a white lotus. He has eight hands and holds two *pūrṇa-kumbhas* in

two of his hands [on one side], and a deer and a rosary are held in two other hands [on the same side] ; with two hands [on the other side], he holds two jars of nectar and the remaining two hands [on the same side] besmear his head with the nectar in the jars. His head is adorned by the crescent.

CXLI. Śivā (Śiva's Wife)

See Śyāmā, etc.

1. Called *Śiva's Wife*. Regarded as *Nityā*.

Ardh-endu-maulim = aruṇām = amar-ābhivandyām =

ambhoja-pāśa-sṛṇi-pūrṇa-kapāla-hastām /

rakt-āṅgarāga-vasan-ābharanām tri-netrām

dhyāyec = Chivasya vanitām mada-vihval-āṅgīm // * * *

[Nityā Nirañjanā Klinnā Kledinī Madanāturā /

Madadravā Drāvinī ca Dravin = ity = aṣṭa-Śaktayah //

nīl-otpala-kapāl-ādhyā-karā rakt-āmbuja-prabhāḥ //]

(A, pp. 182-83 ; B. p. 116)

N.B. Ref. *Nibandha*.

Śiva's wife has the crescent on her head and holds the lotus, noose, goad (*sṛṇi*) and skull-vessel full [of blood or wine]. She has three-eyes, wears red clothes and uses scented red ointment. Her limbs are stupefied by intoxication (*mada vihvala*).

[The eight Śaktis, who hold blue lotus in one hand and skull in the other and have the colour of the red lotus, are the following—Nityā, Nirañjanā, Klinnā, Madanāturā, Madadravā, Drāvinī and Draviṇī.]

N.B. For the Śaktis, see also No. CXXXVIII.

2. Called *Śivā*.

Bāl-ārka-maṇḍal-ābhāsām catur-vāhām tri-locanām /

pāś-āṅkuśa-śarāmś = cāpaṁ dhārayantīm Śivām śraye //

(A, p. 406 ; B. p. 261)

N.B. Ref. *Jñānārṇava*.

Śivā has red complexion like the orb of the rising sun. She

has three eyes and four hands which hold noose, goad, arrow and bow.

3. Called *Parameśvarī*, *Mahādevī*, *Īśvarī* and *Śivā*.

Tataḥ padma-nibhām Devīm bāl-ārka-kiraṇ-ojivalām /
 javā kusuma-saṅkāśām dāḍimi-kusum-opamām //
 padmarāga-pratikāśām kuṅkum-āruṇa-sannibhām /
 sphuran-mukuṭa-māṇikya-kiṅkiṇī-jāla-maṇḍitām //
 kāl-āli-kula-saṅkāśa-kuṭil-ālaka-pallavām /
 pratyagr-āruṇa-saṅkāśa-vadan-āmbhoja-maṇḍalām //
 kiñcid-ardh-endu-kutīla-lalāṭa-mṛdu-patṭikām /
 Pināki-dhanur-ākāra-bhrūlatām Parameśvarīm //
 ānanda-mudit-ollāsa-līl-āndolita-locanām /
 sphuran-mayūkha-saṅkāśa-vilasad-dhema-kuṇḍalām //
 [sugaṇḍa-maṇḍal-ābhoga-jit-endv-amṛta-maṇḍalām /]
 Viśvakarma-vinirmāṇa-sūtra-suspaṣṭa-nāsikām //
 tāmra-vidruma-bimb-ābha-rakt-oṣṭhīm - amṛt-opamām /
 smita-mādhurya-vijita-mādhurya-rasa-sāgarām //
 anaupamyā-guṇ-opeta-civuk-oddeśa-śobhitām /
 kambu-grīvām Mahādevīm mṛṇāla-lalitair = bhujaiḥ //
 rakt-otpala-dal-ākāra-sukumāra-kar-āmbujām /
 rakt-āmbuja-nakha-jyotir-vitānita-nabhastalām //
 muktā-hāra-lat-opeta-samunnata-payodharām /
 tribali-valay-āyukta-madhyadeśa-susobhitām //
 lāvaṇya-sarid-āvarit-ākāra-nābhi-vibhūṣitām /
 anargha-ratna-ghaṭita-kāñci-yuta-nitambinīm //
 nitamba-bimba-dvirada-roma-rāji-var-āṅkuśām (sic) /
 kadali-lalita-stambha-sukumār-oruṃ - Īśvarīm //
 lāvaṇya-kusum-ākāra-jānu-maṇḍala-bandhurām /
 lāvaṇya-kadali-tulya-jāṅghā-yugala-maṇḍitām //
 gūḍha-gulpha-pada-dvandva-prapad-ājita-kacchapām /
 tanu-dīrgh-āṅguli-svaccha-nakha-rāji-virājitām //
 Brahma-Viṣṇu-śiro-ratna-nighṛṣṭa-caraṇ-āmbujām /
 śītāmśu-śata-saṅkāśa-kānti-santāna-hāsinīm //
 lauhitya-jita-sindūra-javā-dāḍima-rūpiṇīm /

rakta-vastra-parīdhānām pāś-āṅkuśa-kar-odyatām //
 rakta-padma-niviṣṭān = tu rakṣ-ābharaṇa-bhūṣitām /
 catur-bhujām tri-netrān = tu pañca-bāṇa-dhanur-dharām //
 karpūra-śakal-onmiśra-ṭāmbūla-pūrit-ānanām /
 mahāmṛgamad-oddāma-kuṅkum-āruṇa-vigrahām //
 sarva-śṛṅgāra-veś-ādhyām sarv-ābharaṇa-bhūṣitām /
 jagad-āhlāda-jananīm jagad-rañjana-kāriṇīm / /
 jagad-ākāṣana-karīm jagat-kāraṇa-rūpinīm /
 [sarva-mantra-mayīm Devīm sarva-saubhāgya-sundarīm //]
 sarva-lakṣmī-mayīm Nityām sarva-śakti-mayīm Śivām //

(A, pp. 436-37 ; B, pp. 282-83)

The goddess *Īśvarī* or *Parameśvarī*, also called *Nityā* and *Śivā*, resembles a lotus in beauty and the rising sun in brightness. Her complexion is red like the *javā* and *dāḍimī* flowers, *padma rāga* (ruby) and *kuṅkuma* (saffron). Her crown is adorned by *māṇikya* (rubies) and tinkling bells. She has curly black hair, and the crescent adorns her forehead. She wears golden ear-rings and her lips are red like copper and coral. She also wears a pearl necklace and a bejewelled girdle. Her navel is beautiful and there are three wrinkles on the belly above it. Her appearance is bright like the lustre of a hundred moons, and her red complexion is more splendid than the colour of vermilion and the *javā* and *dāḍima* flowers. She wears red clothes and red ornaments and holds noose and goad as well as five arrows and a bow. She has four hands and three eyes and is seated on a red lotus.

4. Called *Śivā*. Regarded as *Bhuvanēśvarī-bhairavī*.

Javā-kusuma-saṅkāsām dāḍimī-kusum-opamām /
 candra-rekhām jaṭā-jūṭām tri-netrām rakta-vāsasīm //
 nān-ālaṅkāra-subhagām pīn-onnata-ghana-stanīm /
 pāś-āṅkuśa-var-ābhūtīr = dhārayantīm Śivām śraye //

(A, p. 359 ; B, p. 235)

N B. Ref. *Jñānārṇava*.

Śivā's complexion is red like the *javā* and *dāḍimī* flowers.

She wears the crescent and has matted locks of hair. She has three eyes and wears red clothes and various ornaments. She has developed breasts and holds noose and goad in two hands, the other two hands exhibiting the *varada* and *abhaya* poses.

N.B. For the poses of hands, see under No. VI.

5. Called *Śivā*. Regarded as *Śmaśānakālī*.

Añjan-ādri-nibhām Devīm śmaśān-ālaya-vāsinīm /
rakta-netrām mukta-keśīm śuṣka-māms-āti-bhairavām //
piṅg-ākṣīm vāma-hastena madya-pūrṇam sa-māmsakam /
sadya-kṛtta-śiro dakṣa-hastena dadhatīm Śivām //
smīta-vaktrām sadā c = āma-māmsa-carvaṇa-tatparām /
nān-ālaṅkāra-bhūṣ-āṅgīm nagnām mattām sad = āsvaiḥ //
(A, p. 573 ; B, p. 374)

N.B. Ref. *Kālī Tantra*. *Dakṣa* = *dakṣiṇa*. The composition is poor.

Śivā is black like the Hill of Collyrium and resides in the *śmaśāna* (burning ground). She has red eyes and untied hair and looks terrible owing to her emaciated body. She holds in her left hand, a vessel full of wine and meat and, in her right hand, a recently severed human head. She is smiling and is engaged in chewing raw flesh. She is naked and adorned with various ornaments. She is intoxicated as a result of drinking various kinds of liquors.

CXLII. *Śūlinī*

Adhyārūḍhām mṛgendram sa-jala-jaladhara-śyāmalām
hasta-padmaibḥ
śūlam bāṇam kṛpāṇan = tv = ari-jalaja-gadā-cāpa-pāśan
vahanīm /
candr-ottamsām tri-netrām catasṛbhir = asinā khetakām
bibhratībhiḥ
kanyābhiḥ sevyamānām pratibhaṭa-bhayadām Śūlinīm
bhāvayāmi //
(A, pp. 193-94 ; B, p. 124)

N.B. Ref. *Nibandha*. *Arin* = *cakra* ; *jalaja* = *śaṅkha*.

Śūlinī rides a lion and her dark complexion resembles the

colour of the dark clouds. She holds trident, arrow, sword, discus, conch-shell, mace, bow and noose. She has three eyes, and the moon adorns her head. She is attended by four girls holding sword and shield. [She is an aspect of Durgā.]

CXLIII. *Śmaśānakālī*

See under *Śivā*.

CXLIV. *Śyāmā (Dakṣiṇakālīkā)*

1. Called *Dakṣiṇakālīkā*, *Śyāmā* and *Mahāraudrī*.
 Karāla-vadanām ghorām mukta-keśīm catur-bhujām /
 Kālikām Dakṣiṇām divyām muṇḍa-mālā-vibhūṣitām //
 śadyaś-chinna-śiraḥ-khaḍga-vām-ādh-ordhva-kar-āmbujām /
 abhayaṁ varadañ=c=aiva dakṣiṇ-ordkv-ādhaḥ-pānikām //
 mahāmegha-prabhām Śyāmām tathā c=aiva Digambarīm /
 kaṇṭh-āvasakta-muṇḍ-āli-galad-rudhira-carcitām /
 kaṇ-āvataṁsatā-nīta-śava-yugma-bhayaṇakām //
 ghora-daṁṣṭrā-karāl-āsyām pīn-onnata-payodharām /
 śavānām kara-saṁghātaiḥ kṛta-kāñcīm hasan-mukhīm //
 sṛkka-dvaya-galad-rakta-dhārā-visphurit-ānanām /
 ghora-rāvām Mahāraudrīm śmaśān-ālaya-vāsinīm //
 [bāl-ārka-maṇḍal-ākāra-locana-tritay-ānvitām /]
 danturām dakṣiṇa-vyāpi-mukt-ālambi-kac-occayām /
 śava-rūpa-Mahādeva-hṛday-opari saṁsthitām /
 śivābhir—ghora-rāvābhiś—catur-dikṣu samanvitām /
 [Mahākālena ca samam viparīta-rat-āturām //]
 sukha-prasanna-vadanām smer-ānana-saroruhām / * * *
 śakunta-pakṣa-samyukta-vāma-karṇa-vibhūṣitām /
 vigat-āṣu-kiśorābhyām kṛta-kaṇ-āvataṁsinīm //

(A, pp. 479-80 ; B, pp. 310-11)

N.B. Ref. *Kālī Tantra*.

Dakṣiṇakālīkā has a terrible appearance and a fierce face. She has four hands and untied hair and wears a garland of evered heads. She holds a recently severed head and a sword respectively in her lower and upper left hands, while her upper

and lower right hands exhibit *abhaya* and *varada* poses. She is naked and her complexion is dark like dense clouds. She wears a garland of severed heads from which blood oozes and covers her body. She also wears two corpses as ear-rings. Her face and teeth are terrible and she has developed breasts. Her girdle is made of hands cut off from the bodies of corpses. She has a smiling face which is covered by the blood falling from both ends of her mouth. She roars terribly and lives at the cremation ground. [Her three eyes resemble the orb of the rising sun.] Her untied hair covers her right side, and she stands on the chest of Śiva lying as a corpse. [She is engaged in *viparīta-rati* with Mahākāla (Śiva)]. She has a pleasant look and a smiling face. Her left ear is adorned with birds' feathers, and her ear-rings are made of the corpses of two boys.

N.B. *Viparīta-rati* (inverted sexual intercourse, also called *puruṣāyita*) is a mode of sexual enjoyment in which the woman plays the part of man. See under No. LXXXI above. For the poses of hands, see under No. VI.

2. Called *Śivā*.

Añjan-ādri nibhām Devīm karāla-vadanām Śivām /
 muṇḍa-māl-āvali-kīrṇām mukta-keśīm smit-ānanām //
 Mahākāla-hṛd-ambhoja-sthitām pīṇa-payodharām /
 viparīta-rat-āsaktām ghora-daṁṣṭrām Śivaiḥ saha //
 nāga-yajñ-opavīt-ādhyām candr-ārdha-kṛta-śekharām /
 sarv-ālaṅkāra-samyuktām muṇḍa-mālā-vibhūṣitām //
 śava-hasta-sahasrais = tu baddha-kāñcim dig-aṁśukām /
 śivā-koṭi sahasrais = tu Yoginibhir = virājitām //
 rakta-pūrṇa-mukh-āmbhojām madya-pāna-pramattikām /
 vahny-arka-śaśi-netrāṇ = ca rakta-visphurit-ānanām //
 vigat-āsu-kīṣorābhyām kṛta-karṇ-āvataṁsinīm /
 kaṇṭh-āvasakta-muṇḍ-āli-galad-rudhira-carcitām //
 śmaśāna-vahni-madhyasthām Brahma-Keśava-vanditām /
 sadyah-kṛtā-śiraḥ-khaḍga-var-ābhīti-kar-āmbujām //

(A., pp. 480-81 ; B, p. 311)

N.B. Ref. *Svatantra Tantra*. For *Śivaḥ saha*, better read *Śivena vai*. The composition is poor.

Śivā's complexion is dark like the colour of the Collyrium Hill, and her face is terrible. She has a smiling face and untied hair and wears garlands of severed human heads. She has developed breasts and stands on the chest of Mahākāla (Śiva) and is engaged in *viparīta-rati* with Śiva. Her sacred thread is a snake, and the crescent adorns her crown. She is naked and wears various ornaments as well as the garland of severed heads from which blood drops and covers her body. Her girdle is made of hands cut off from the bodies of corpses. She is surrounded by jackals and Yoginīs. Her mouth is full of blood, and she is intoxicated as a result of drinking wine. Fire, sun and moon represent her three eyes. Her ear-rings are two dead boys. She lives among fires burning at the cremation ground. She is worshipped by Brahman and Viṣṇu and holds a recently severed head, sword, *vara* (i.e. the *varada* pose) and *abhūti* (i.e. the *abhaya* pose) in her hands.

N.B. For *viparīta-rati*, see above. For the poses of hands, see under No. VI.

3. Śav-ārūḍhām mahā-bhīmām ghora-damṣṭrām vara-
pradām /
hāsyā-yuktām tri-netrāṇ = ca kapāla-kartṭkā-karām //
mukta-keśīm lalaj-jihvām pibantīm rudhiraṁ muhuḥ /
catur-bāhu-yutām Devīm var-ābhaya-karām smaret //
(A, p. 490 ; B, p. 318)

N.B. Ref. *Siddheśvara Tantra*.

The goddess stands on a corpse and her appearance and teeth are terrible. She has three eyes and a smiling face. She has four hands, in two of which she holds skull and knife and the other two exhibit the *vara* and *abhaya* poses. She has untied hair and lolling tongue and is engaged in drinking blood.

N. B. For the poses of hands, see under No. VI.

mudrām jñāna-mayīm dadhānam=aparam hast-āmbujam
jānuni /

Sitām pārśva-gatām saroruha-karām vidyun-nibhām
Rāghavam

paśyantam mukut-āṅgad-ādi-vividh-ākālp-ojval-āṅgam
bhaje //

(A, p. 250 ; B, p. 164)

Rāghava is dark like dense clouds and is seated in the *virāsana*. One (left) of his [two] hands is placed on his knee and the other (right) hand exhibits the *jñāna-mudrā* (the pose of hand also called *vyākhyā*). He wears a crown, armlets (*aṅgada*) and other ornaments and looks at Sitā whose complexion is like the colour of lightning and who is seated beside him with a lotus in her hand.

N.B. For the pose of hand, see under No. LVI. The sitting posture called *virāsana*, also styled *paryāṅk-āsana*, means sitting on the hams (*ekam pādama=ath=aikasmīn=vinyasy=orau tu samsthitam / itarasmīns=taih = aiv = oruḥ vir-āsanam=udāhṛtam //*—Apte's *Sans.-Eng. Dict.*, s. v. *paryāṅka*).

2. Called *Rāghava*.

*** Sīmhāsana-samārūdham puṣpak-opari Rāghavam /
rakṣobhir - haribhir - devair - divya-yāna-gataiḥ śubhaiḥ //
samstūyamānam munibhiḥ sarvajñaiḥ parisevitam /
Sīt-ālaṅkṛta-vām-āṅgam Lakṣmaṇen - opasevitam /
śyāmaṁ prasanna-vadanaṁ sarv-ābharāṇa-bhūṣitam //

(A, pp. 252-53 ; B, p. 166)

Rāghava, who is dark-complexioned, is seated on the *puṣpaka* placed on the throne. He is surrounded by Rākṣasas, monkeys, gods and sages. Sitā adorns his left side (i.e. is seated on his left thigh), and he is being served by Lakṣmaṇa. He has a pleased look and is adorned with all kinds of ornaments.

N.B. *Puṣpaka* has been explained as 'a flower (*puṣpa*)', but is probably the flying chariot of that name.

3. Called *Rāma*.

Dhyātvā nīlotpala-śyāmaṁ Rāmaṁ rājiva-locanam /
 Jānakī-Lakṣman-opetaṁ jaṭā-mukūṭa-maṇḍitam //
 s-āsi-tuna-dhanur-bāna-pāṇih naktāñcar-āntakam / * * *

(A, p. 762 ; B, p. 502)

Rāma is dark-complexioned like a blue lotus and his eyes resemble lotuses. He has matted hair arranged in a kind of crown (*jaṭā-mukūṭa*) on his head and is accompanied by Jānakī (Sītā) and Lakṣmaṇa. He holds, in his [four] hands, sword, shield, bow and arrow.

CXLVIII. *Ṣaṭkūṭa-bhairavi*

Bāla-sūrya-prabhāṁ Devīm javā-kusuma-sannibhām /
 muṇḍa-māl-āvali-ramyām bāla-sūrya-sam-āṁśukām //
 suvarṇa-kalas-ākāra-pīn-onnata-payodharām /
 pāś āṅkuśau pustakañ=ca tathā ca japa-mālikām //

(A, p. 354 ; B, p. 231)

N.B. Ref. *Jñānārṇava Tantra*. It is said, *dadhatīm = iti śeṣaḥ*.

The complexion of the goddess (Devī) is red like the colour of the rising sun and the *javā* flower. She is adorned with necklaces made of severed human heads and wears red clothes. Her breasts are developed and look like golden jars. She holds, in her [four] hands, noose, goad, manuscript and rosary.

CXLIX. *Ṣaṣṭhi*

Called *Devasenā*.

* * *

Śveta-campaka-varṇ-ābhām ratna-bhūṣaṇa-bhūṣitām /
 pavitra-rūpām paramām Devasenām=aham bhaje //

(Appendix, A, p. 991 ; B, p. 655)

N.B. Ref. *Brahmavaiṭvartapurāṇa* to which the reader's attention has also been drawn for *Maṅgalacaṇḍī*.

The complexion of the goddess Devasenā (Ṣaṣṭhi) resembles the colour of a white *campaka* flower and she is adorned with bejewelled ornaments. Her appearance exhibits purity.

CL. *Samhāramātṛkā*

See *Varṇeśvari*.

CLI. *Sampatpradā*

See *Mahāsampatpradā*.

CLII. *Sarasvatī*

See *Pārijāta-Sarasvatī* and *Vāgdevat* or *Vāgdevi*.

CLIII. *Satyabhāmā*

See under *Viṣṇu-Śrīkṛṣṇa*.

CLIV. *Sāttvika-Vaṭuka-bhairava*

See *Vaṭuka-bhairava*.

CLV. *Sāyāhnakāliyā-Gāyatrī*

See *Gāyatrī*.

CLVI. *Sītā*

Same as *Jānakī*. See under *Śrīrāma*.

CLVII. *Surasundarī (Yoginī)*

Pūrṇa-candra-nibhām gaurīm vicitr-āmbara-dhāriṇīm /
pīn-ottuṅga-kucām rāmām sarveṣām — abhaya-pradām //
(A, p. 640 ; B, p. 418)

N.B. Ref. *Bhūtaḍāmara*.

The goddess (Devī) is fair-complexioned (*Gaurī*) and has a charming face resembling the full moon. She wears beautiful clothes. Her breasts are highly developed.

CLVIII. *Sūrya*

1. Called *Dinanātha*.

Rakt-ābja-yugm-ābhaya-dāna-bastām
keyūra-hār-āṅgada-kunḍal-īḍhyam /
māṇikya-maulīm Dinanātham — īḍe
bandhūka-kāntīm vilasat-tri-netram //

(A, p. 229 ; B, p. 149)

N. B. Ref. *Nibandha*.

Dinanātha (the Lord of the Day) has two red lotuses in two of his hands, his other two hands exhibiting the *abhaya* and *dāna* (*varada*) poses (*mudrās*). He wears two types of armlets (*keyūra* and *aṅgada*), necklace, and ear-rings. His head is adorned with gems (or rubies). He has three eyes, and his red complexion resembles the colour of *bandhūka* flowers.

N. B. For the poses of hands, see under No. VI.

2. Called *Bhānu*.

Rakt-āmbuj-āsanam = aśeṣa-guṇ = aīka-sindhum
Bhānum samasta-jagatām = adhipaṁ bhajāmi /
padma-dvay-ābhaya-varān dadhataṁ kar-ābjair =
maṇīkya-maulim = aruṇ = āṅga-ruciṁ tri-netram //

(A, p. 231 ; B, p. 150)

N. B. Ref. *Nibandha*.

Bhānu is seated on a red lotus and holds, in two of his four hands, two lotuses, the other two hands exhibiting the *abhaya* and *varada* poses (*mudrās*).

N. B. For the poses of hands, see under No. VI.

3. Called *Mārtaṇḍa*. Described as *Vallabārdha* (*Ardhanārī*).
See *Ardhanārīśvara*.

Hem-āmbhoja-pravāla-pratima-nija-ruciṁ cāru khaṭvāṅga-
cāpau
cakram śaktiṁ sa-pāśaṁ sṛnim = ati-ruciram = akṣa-
mālāṁ kapālam /
hast-āmbojair = dadhānam tri-nayana-vilasat = veda-
vaktr-ābhirāmaṁ
Mārtaṇḍam Vallabh-ārdham maṇimaya-mukutaṁ hāra-
dīptaṁ bhajāmah //

(A, p. 233 ; B, p. 151)

N. B. Ref. *Nibandha*. V. l. *kṛpāṇam* for *sa-pāśam*.

The complexion of the combined [*Ardhanārī*] form of *Mātaṇḍa* (i.e. *Mātaṇḍa-bhairava*) resembles the colour of the golden lotus [in the part represented by the goddess] and of [red] coral [in the part represented by the god]. He holds *khaṭvāṅga* (long bone with skull at the top), bow, discus, *śakti* (lance), noose (or, sword), goad, rosary and skull in his [eight] hands. He has four faces with three eyes in each one of them. He wears a bejewelled crown and necklace. His wife forms the left half of his body.

CLIX. *Smara*

Same as *Kāma* and *Manobhava* ; see under *Ādyāśakti*, etc.

CLX. *Svāhā*

Called *Siddhā*.

Svāhām mantr-āṅga-bhūtāñ = ca mantra-siddhi-svarūpi-

ñīm /

Siddhāñ = ca siddhidām nṛṇām karmaṇām phaladām

bhaje //

(Appendix, A, p. 992 ; B, p. 656).

N.B. There is no iconographic details of the goddess.

CLXI. *Hanumat*

* * *

Lākṣā-ras-āruṇām raudraṁ kāl-āntaka-Yam-opanam /

jvalad-agni-lasan-netraṁ sūrya-koṭi-sama-prabham // * * *

(A, p. 621 ; cf. p. 623 ; B, p. 405 ; cf. p. 406).

The deity's red complexion resembles the colour of lac, and his appearance is terrible like that of Yama (the god of death). His lustre is like that of a crore of suns, and his eyes are like fire.

CLXII. *Hayagrīva*

1. Called *Aśvavaktra* (Horse-faced).

Śarac-chaśāṅka-prabham = *Aśva-vaktraṁ*

muktāmayair = ābharaṇaiḥ pradīptam /
 rathāṅga-śaṅkh-ārcita-bāhu-yugmaṁ
 jānu-dvaya-nyasta-karaṁ bhajāmaḥ //

(A, p. 295 ; B, p. 194)

The god has the face of a horse and is resplendent like the autumnal moon. He shines with his pearl ornaments. Of his [four] hands, two holds discus and conch-shell while the other two are placed on his knees.

2. Called *Viṣṇu* and *Jiṣṇu* ; also *Turaṅgavadana* (Horse-faced).

Dhavaḥ-nalina-niṣṭhaṁ kṣīra-gauram kar-ābjair =
 japavalaya-saroje pustak-ābhīṣṭadāne /
 dadhatam = amala-vastr-ākālpa-jāl-ābhirāmaṁ
 Turaṅga-vadana-Jiṣṇuṁ naumi vidyā-gra-Viṣṇuṁ //

(A, p. 297 ; B, p. 195)

N.B. Ref. *Kalpa*.

The complexion of the horse-faced god called *Jiṣṇu* and *Viṣṇu* is white like milk, and he is seated on a white lotus. In his four hands, he holds rosary, lotus, manuscript and *ābhīṣṭa-dāna* (i.e. exhibits the *varada* pose of hand). He is beautiful owing to his clean clothes and ornaments. He is endowed with the knowledge of the foremost sciences.

3. Called *Aśyavaktra* (Horse-faced).

Śarac-chaṣāṅka-prabham = Aśva-vaktraṁ
 muktā-mayair = ābharanair = upetam /
 rathāṅga-śaṅkh-ordhva-karaṁ = ca vidyā-
 vyākhyāna-mudr-ānya-karaṁ bhajāmi //

(A, pp. 295 and 297 ; B, pp. 194 and 195)

N. B. Ref. *Nibandha*.

The horse-faced god has the splendour of the autumnal moon and is adorned with pearl ornaments. His upper two hands hold discus and conch-shell and, of the lower two, one holds a manuscript and the other exhibits the *vyākhyāna* (also called *jñāna*) pose of hand.

N.B. For the pose of hand, see under No. LVI.

CLXIII. *Hara*

Same as *Śiva* ; also see under *Ādyāśakti*.

CLXIV. *Hari*

Same as *Viṣṇu-Śrīkṛṣṇa*. See *Harihara* ; also under *Ādyāśakti* and *Lakṣmī*.

CLXV. *Haridrā-Gaṇeśa*

Haridr-ābhaṁ catur-bāhuṁ hāridra-vasanaṁ vibhum /
pās-āṅkuṣa-dharaṁ Devaṁ modakaṁ dantam = eva ca //

(A, p. 217 ; B, p. 139)

N.B. V. 1. *hārita-vasanaṁ*.

The god has yellow complexion resembling the colour of turmeric and wears yellow clothes. In his [four] hands, he holds noose, goad, sweetmeats and [his broken] tusk.

CLXVI. *Harihara* (i.e. *Hari* and *Hara* combined)

Śulaṁ cakram pāñcajanyaṁ = abhītiṁ dadhataṁ karaṇ /
sva-sva-bhūṣ-āccha-līl-ārdha-dehaṁ Hariharaṁ bhaje //

(A, p. 303 ; B, p. 199)

N.B. Ref. *Mantradevaprakāśinī*.

Harihara (i.e. the combined form of *Hari* or *Viṣṇu* and *Hara* or *Śiva*) holds in his [four] hands trident, discus, the conch-shell called *pāñcajanya* and *abhīti* (i.e. the *abhaya* pose of hand). Half of the body is endowed with the ornaments of *Hari* and the other half with those of *Hara*.

N.B. *Śula* is the weapon of *Hara* while *cakra* and *śaṅkha* (called *pāñcajanya*) belong to *Hari*. For the pose of hand, see under No. VI.

CLXVII. *Hastimukha*

Same as *Gaṇapati*. See *Mahā-Gaṇeśa*.

CLXVIII. *Heramba*

Same as *Gaṇapati*. See under *Gaṇeśa*.

LECTURES AT THE CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY

XXXIV*

Lecturer : Dr. B. P. Sinha, Professor of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Patna University, and Director of Archaeology and Museums, Bihar.

Subject : Recent Archaeological Excavations in Bihar.

Date : Tuesday, the 11th July, 1972.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. (in the chair) ; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M. A., D. Litt. ; Sri T. N. Chakraborty, M. A. ; Dr. S. R. Das, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. K. K. Dasgupta, M. A., D. Phil. ; Sri D. K. Biswas, M. A. ; Sri D. K. Chakravarti, M. A. ; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M. A., LL.B., D. Phil. ; Pandit R. K. Bhattacharyya, M. A. ; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M. A. D. Phil. ; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. S. P. Singh, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. Sm. R. Chatterjee, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. Sm. J. Maitra, M. A., Ph. D. ; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M. A. ; Sri R. K. Billorey, M. A. ; Sri S. Chatterjee, M. A. ; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M. A. ; and others.

Summary : Prof. Sinha observed that, as revealed by the Pāṭaliputra excavations, the Mauryan capital was situated at the site of the modern city of Pāṭnā. He thought that the Mauryan pillared-hall excavated at Kumrāhār was a religious establishment and not the royal palace. He drew attention to the absence of remains of royal buildings and of the city complex around the pillared-hall and regarded this to be an important point of consideration. Prof. Sinha was of the opinion that the discovery, from Pāṭnā city, of fragments of stone pillars and pieces of stone bearing Mauryan polish points to the existence of the Mauryan capital. He also observed that the Pāṭaliputra excavations offered definite evidence of Kuṣāṇa occupation of Pāṭnā, but that no Gupta gold coins and architectural remains were found though an inscription on a pot referring to the existence of a sanitorium of the Gupta age was discovered. Prof. Sinha further pointed out that, although Pāṭaliputra was an important political centre during the Pāla rule in Bengal and Bihar, no antiquity of the Pāla period was discovered. Regarding the destruction of the ancient city of Pāṭaliputra, Prof. Sinha said, the excavations reveal that it was destroyed by floods of the rivers Ganges and Son and not by fire as there is no sign of the burning of the city.

* Continued from above, Vol. V, p. 356.

In course of his lecture, Ptof. Sinha referred to the discovery of terracotta figures of the Mother Goddess, coins, beads and a unique ivory female figure from Campānagar : two doubtful pieces of Painted Grey Ware and an uniscribed stone casket supposed to contain the relics of Lord Buddha from Vaisālī : and a large number of terracotta figurines, Buddhist images and a stone inscription from Vikramaśilā. According to Prof. Sinha, the absence of writing on the Buddha relic casket at Vaisālī shows that it belonged to the pre-Aśokan age when the art of writing was not popular. In connection with the Vikramaśilā stone inscription, he referred to the help rendered by Prof. D.C. Sircar in deciphering this important record which mentions the names of rulers who were hitherto unknown,

Referring to the excavations at Chirand, Prof. Sinha said that it is a very important Neolithic site showing continuous cultural occupation from the New Stone age down to the Pāla times. The most important discovery from the site, he said, are Neolithic tools made of antelopes' bones. According to him, the bone tools of Chirand show a developed stage when compared to the stone tools found from Chotanagpur in South Bihar. In this connection, Prof. Sinha referred to the discovery of a brick monastery from the Kuṣāṇa level and a big hoard of coins including more than 80 Kuṣāṇa copper issues from Chirand ; but he said that no Gupta antiquity was found there.

Discussion : Dr. A. N. Lahiri enquired whether stone tools were discovered at Chirand along with bone tools. Prof. Sinha replied that the number of stone tools discovered from Chirand was only three. Prof. D. C. Sircar considered the excavations of Chirand of some importance for having a continuous occupation from the Neolithic culture down to the 12th century A. D. Referring to the stone inscription from Vikramaśilā the correct form of which is probably 'Vikramaśila', Prof. Sircar, who had the opportunity to read it, observed that the names of *Maharajādhirāja* Kesara as well as his descendants Haṁsana, Sāhura and Māsaṁkeśa are indeed unknown from other sources and cannot be identified. According to Prof. Sircar, king Kesara might have been a tribal king like Bhulla of Bihra. Regarding the absence of Gupta and Pāla antiquities respectively from Chirand and Pāṭnā, Prof. Sircar observed that Pāṭaliputra was the headquarters of an administrative unit (if not of the empire) during the Gupta and Pāla periods so that only parts of the sites seem to have been excavated. Prof. Sircar did not subscribe to the view that the Vaisālī casket is pre-Aśokan because it is uninscribed.

XXXV

Lecturer : Dr. I. W. Mabbett, Monash University, Australia.

Subject : Varnas in Ancient Cambodia.

Date : Friday, the 1st December, 1972.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. (in the chair) ; Dr. K. K. Gauguli, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M. A., D. Litt. ; Dr. Sm. C. Gupta, M. A., LL. B., Ph. D. ; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M. A., LL. B., D. Phil. ; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. S. P. Singh, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. Sm. R. Chatterjee, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. J. R. Haldar, M. A., Ph. D. ; Dr. Sm. J. Maitra, M. A., Ph. D. ; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M. A. ; Sm. B. Chatterjee, M. A. ; Sri A. K. Jha, M. A. ; Sm. S. Mondal, M. A. ; Sm. K. Ray, M. A. ; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M. A. ; Sri A. Prasad, M. A. ; Sri M. S. Mohana Nehru, M. A. ; Sri C. Jeeva Dhas, M. A. ; Sri R. K. Billorey, M. A. ; Sm. A. Banerji, M. A. ; Sri A. K. Chakravarti, M. A. ; and others.

Summary : Dr. Mabbett dwelt on the caste system as it prevailed in ancient Cambodia and made a comparative study of caste in India and in Cambodia. He discussed the reflections arising from a general study of political institutions in Cambodia during the Angkorian period. The word 'ancient' in the context refers to the period for which inscriptions are the chief sources, the material considered being Angkorian. Dr. Mabbett admitted that the subject of the lecture has been discussed by other writers, but pointed out that there is room for further discussion on some points. He did not think that there is evidence to regard Cambodian *varṇas* as divisions of the whole free population, although, following Indian poetic conventions, inscriptions of the country sometimes use the word in this sense in a general way. However, Dr. Mabbett pointed out, the groups in Cambodian society known as *varṇa* appear to have been specific communities given rights over particular territories and ceremonials or court functions by the king. Thus, in his opinion, we can say that the caste in Cambodia was unlike the Indian caste, and may also add that, in manipulating and creating *varṇas*, the Cambodian monarchs were distributing favours to members of the elite. He pointed out that the king could change people's *varṇa* and could also create *varṇas*.

Dr. Mabbett distinguished between *varga* and *varṇa* and referred to the seven castes of Indian society as mentioned by the Greek and Arab writers.

Discussion : Sri A. K. Chakravarti pointed out that while the word *varga* is always related to a person, the word *varṇa* is attached to a group. *Varga* was supposed by him to refer to feudal chiefs. According to Sri Chakravarti, the seven *varṇas* mentioned in Cambodian inscriptions were not high castes, but rather sub-castes. Prof. Sircar observed that, in India, *varṇa* essentially indicated a social grade and *jāti* a tribe or community, the membership of which was dependent on birth.

As regards the seven castes or *sapta-varṇa*, Prof. Sircar observed that

'seven' may essentially be a conventional number vaguely indicating 'many'. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay observed that Megasthenes enumerated the seven castes specifically so that he used the number in a specific sense, Prof. Sircar replied that, being a foreigner, Megasthenes could have easily confused the tradition regarding the number of castes and that regarding their list. Dr. Mabbett considered the conventional character of the number 'seven' as a possibility. [The lecture has been published above, pp. 4ff.]

XXXVI

Lecturer : Dr. Mukhlesur Rahman, Curator, Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi, Bangladesh.

Subject : Discovery of Antiquities and Indological Studies in Bangladesh.

Date : Thursday, the 7th December, 1972.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. (in the chair) ; Dr. K. K. Ganguli, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M. A., D. Litt. ; Dr. S. K. Mitra, M.A., LL. B., D. Phil. ; Dr. Sm. P. Niyogi, M.A., D. Phil. ; Dr. Sm. C. Sengupta, M.A., LL. B., Ph. D. ; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D. Phil. ; Pandit R. K. Bhattacharya, M.A. ; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. S. P. Singh, M.A., D. Phil. ; Dr. Sm. R. Chatterjee, M. A., D. Phil. ; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M. A. ; Sm. B. Chatterjee, M. A. ; Sri R. K. Billorey, M. A. ; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A. ; Sri A.K. Jha, M.A. ; Sri A. Prasad, M.A. ; Sm. A. Banerji, M. A. ; Sm. S. Mondal, M. A. ; Sm. K. Ray, M. A. ; Sri C. Jeeva Dhas, M.A. ; Sri M. S. Mohana Nehru, M.A. ; Sri S. Chatterjee, M.A., and others.

Summary : Dr. Rahman, who spoke in Bengali, observed that, immediately after partition, there was none in East Pakistan to look after the Varendra Research Society and Museum, because most of the persons interested in antiquities and antiquarian studies migrated to West Bengal. The founder-members of the Society like Sarat Chandra Ray, Akshay Kumar Maitreya and Rama Prasad Chanda were of course no more. Dr. Rahman pointed out how there was a proposal to utilise the Society's building for the Medical School, but how, thanks to a non-Bengali Principal of the Rajshahi College, the Society was saved from this calamity, even though an Anatomy Museum was later started in its immediate neighbourhood. The collection of antiquities suffered very much ; but, Dr. Rahman pointed out, some medieval coins as well as a few Arabic and Persian manuscripts were collected and an Islamic Section was opened. Dr. Rahman paid a tribute to Prof. Mir Jahan of the Rajshahi College, who was then acting as Honorary Curator of the Society and Museum. On becoming Curator himself, Dr. Rahman arranged, according to cults, a large number of Paharpur plaques

which had been lying in the godown. With the financial assistance of the Central Government of Pakistan, the library was shifted to a different building and arrangement was made there for occasional lectures on archaeology, history and other allied subjects.

Dr. Rahman pointed out how in East Pakistan there was hardly any scholar with sufficient command over the Sanskrit and Pali languages. The Sanskrit College at Rajshahi stopped functioning, though a branch of the Pakistan Archaeological Department had been established in East Pakistan, and it conducted fruitful excavations at Maināmatī near Comilla. Dr. A. H. Dani who originally belonged to this Department, later joined the Dacca University and soon became Curator of the Dacca Museum and succeeded in founding the Asiatic Society of Pakistan. The Society, Dr. Rahman pointed out, has published several volumes of its journal and a number of books. Dr. Enamul Haque, who is now in charge of the Dacca Museum, has succeeded in collecting a large number of images from the villages with the help of the late Dr. N. K. Bhattashali's well-known *Catalogue*. Notable among these images are : (1) Mahāmāyā from Kāgazipādā ; (2) Sarasvatī from Vajrayoginī ; (3) Nīlakanṭha from Bariāl ; and (4) six-headed Japeśa (Heramba) from Vikrampur.

Some popular booklets on the Maināmatī excavations were published by Dr. F. A. Khan, Director of the Archaeological Survey of Pakistan ; but no detailed report on the said excavations has been published. Dr. Rahman said that excavations were also conducted at Mahāsthān and further pointed out how important antiquities discovered at Maināmatī had been taken away to Karachi. The remaining relics are now exhibited in a site Museum at Maināmatī. A copper-plate grant discovered at the place is now preserved in the Dacca Museum. Dr. Rahman mentioned how, for his Museum, he purchased the Jagadīśpur copper-plate grant and secured an inscription of Alāuddīn Husain Shāh from the village of Ulipur in the Rangpur District. He also referred to an inscription of the reign of Akbar from Chatmohar and a short Sanskrit inscription mentioning Farās Khān and the construction of a bridge. He further mentioned a Viṣṇu image of the Kuṣāṇa period discovered from the Bogra District.

Dr. Rahman, who is an M. A. of the University of Calcutta in Islamic History and Culture, then referred to his own thesis entitled *The History and Iconography of Durgā* as well as to Dr. Abu Imam's *Sir Alexander Cunningham : Beginning of Indian Archaeology* and to Dr. Mrs. Sahanara Hussain's *Everyday Life in the Pāla Empire*. He mentioned that, in the Universities of Bangladesh at present Archaeology, Museology, etc. are not taught as separate subjects ; but Sanskrit and Pali are taught in a few colleges.

Discussion : Prof. D. C. Sircar thanked Dr. Rahman for the valuable information he made available to the audience. The information is especially welcome, he observed, because not very much was known about the discoveries in East Bengal during the last quarter of a century. He pointed out that the Sanskrit inscription mentioning Farās Khān is the well-known Dhurāil epigraph which was discovered many years before the creation of Pakistan. He also observed how he re-edited the Pascimbhāg plate of Śricandra, the Maināmatī plates of Laḍahacandra, Govindacandra and Vīradhara and the Jagadīpur plate of the Gupta age on materials published in Pakistan and secured with great difficulty and how they were included in his lectures on 'Epigraphic Discoveries in East Pakistan' delivered at the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, in 1971. He referred to Dr. Abdul Momin Chowdhury's *Dynastic History of Bengal*, published from Dacca.

Dr. K. K. Ganguli wanted to know about the Mahāsthān collection at Bogra. Dr. Rahman did not know the present position of the said collection. Dr. Ganguli further wanted to know whether the temple at Kāntanagar was in a good state of preservation. Dr. Rahman replied in the affirmative.

Dr. A. N. Lahiri enquired whether coins with legends in archaic Bengali script are preserved in the Rajshahi Museum and whether catalogues of coins in the said Museum are available. Dr. Rahman replied in the negative and observed that most of the coins are of Muslim rulers, only two of them belonging to the Kuṣāṇa age.

XXXVII

Lecturer : Mr. Takis Mouzenidis, Professor of National Theatre, Athens, Greece.

Subject : The Revival of Ancient Greek Drama.

Date : Monday, the 12th February, 1973.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. (in the chair) ; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D. Litt. ; Pandit R.K. Bhattacharya, M.A. ; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D. Phil. ; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D. Phil. ; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. S. P. Singh, M.A., D. Phil. ; Dr. J. R. Haldar, M.A., Ph. D. ; Dr. Sm. R. Chatterjee, M. A. Ph. D. ; Sri R. K. Billorey, M. A. ; Sri S. Chatterjee, M. A. ; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M. A. ; Sm. K. Ray M. A. ; Sm. B. Chatterjee, M.A. ; Sri M. S. Mohana Nehru, M. A. ; Sri C. Jeeva Dhas, M. A. ; Sri A. Prasad, M. A. ; and others.

Discussion : Prof. Takis Mouzenidis observed that Greece is passing through an era of the revival of her ancient dramatic style and theatrical expression. The people of the country had artistic sense and political enter-

prise from early times, and this is reflected in her rich heritage of literary tradition and old remains. Prof. Mouzenidis pointed out how the results of ethnological researches in Greece show that the Greek tragedies originated from religious feelings and social ideas and how the subject of the first play was sin. He observed that the period of Aristotle was the age of the revival of social and moral ideas. He pointed out how the modern Greek dramatists, artists and directors of theatres avoid fanaticism of the 18th and 19th centuries and have introduced romantic elements like sweet music, artificial ballet, etc., and also realism in old themes. Prof. Mouzenidis referred to the discovery of the remains of an old theatre of the second century A. D. in Greece and observed that the ancient Greek dramas were played in open air and it was democratic in its political and social composition with the audience placed around the stage. It aimed at the unity of two basic spaces, *e.g.*, the amphitheatre and orchestra, because dramatic poetry demanded direct relationship between the audience and the performers. The orchestra, a developed form of the primitive circular threshing-floor which served for the theatrical space of the primeval theatre, is the main characteristic of Greek theatre. Prof. Mouzenidis referred to the establishment of the National theatre of Greece in 1936 and pointed out how the national festivals are being held there since 1955. He showed some slides of theatrical halls and dramatic scenes. He also projected the plan of the National Theatre of Greece and pointed out that the theatre, having a capacity of 17,000 spectators, is nicely built and the arrangements of seats and visibility are excellent. Prof. Mouzenidis said that the old system of sound in the theatre is very effective, but that the light is produced by special projectors called 'daylight' because natural light cannot be suitably utilised.

Discussion: Dr. A. N. Lahiri enquired about the language used by the artists in presenting ancient Greek dramas and their approach to the religious life of the ancient people. Prof. Mouzenidis replied that the old dramas have been translated and their presentation is somewhat similar to that of Sanskrit dramas. He further said that the artists are also the members of the audience and they realise the popular feelings. Prof. Mouzenidis placed the origin of the Sanskrit drama in the 3rd century B. C. Prof. D. C. Sircar said that the earliest extant Sanskrit drama belongs to the Kuṣāṇa age. He also referred to the Greek rule in India and observed that the Sanskrit word *yavanikā* (screen) seems to have been associated with the Greeks, and further observed that, since ancient Greek theatre used no screens, the Greeks may have developed the use of screens in India. Prof. Sircar pointed out that Megasthenes, who visited India about 300 B.C., is silent about dramatic performances, while there is no old drama among the people of the territory

over which the Greeks and the other foreigners ruled. Prof. Mouzenidis then drew attention to the instruments preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and said that they are similar to the Greek instruments and they might have been copied from the latter or the former might have influenced the latter. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee enquired about the number of tragedies and comedies discovered in Greece. Prof. Mouzenidis referred to 33 tragedies and 11 comedies and said that some fragmentary works have also been recovered.

XXXVIII

Lecturer : Prof. D. C. Sircar, Director of the Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University.

Subject : Chips from an Epigraphist's Workshop—I.

Date : Monday, the 26th March, 1973.

Present : Sri T. N. Chakraborty, M. A. ; Dr. Sm. Amita Ray, M. A., Ph.D. ; Dr. Sm. C. Sengupta, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. ; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. ; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., Ph.D. ; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M. A., Ph.D. ; Pandit R. K. Bhattacharya, M.A. ; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., Ph.D. ; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M. A., Ph. D. ; Dr. S. P. Singh, M. A., Ph. D. ; Dr. Sm. R. Chatterjee, M. A., Ph. D. ; Dr. J. R. Haldar, M. A., Ph. D. ; Dr. Sm. J. Maitra, M. A., Ph. D. ; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M. A. ; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A. ; Sm. A. Banerji, M.A. ; Sri C. Jeeva Dhas, M. A. ; Sri S. Chatterjee, M. A. ; Sm. K. Ray, M. A. ; Sri M. S. M. Nehru, M. A. ; and others.

Summary : At the outset, Prof. Sircar referred to the University Grants Commission's scheme of National Lecturship, according to which the Lecturer is expected to review the major developments in their fields of specialisation as well as to report on their contributions and to touch upon their relevance to developments in related subjects. He then pointed out how he was appointed one of the National Lecturers in History for the year 1971-72 and selected his own experiences in the field of epigraphic and numismatic studies as some of the subjects of his lectures scheduled to be delivered at certain universities like those at Sagar, New Delhi (Jawaharlal Nehru University) and Meerut. He pointed out how the present lectures were parts of the same scheme.

In the first of the two lectures delivered at the Centre, Prof. Sircar first dealt with the importance as well as the difficulties of epigraphic studies and pointed out how difficult inscriptions like the Bodhgaya inscription of Budhasena baffle decipherment and interpretation for many decades. As regards his initiation into the study of epigraphy and palaeography he observed how he deciphered a manuscript written in archaic Bengali characters when he was an under-graduate student and how he obtained a taste of epigraphy and

palaeography at the post-graduate classes. Next he discussed his training as a serious student of the subject under the late Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar. He said how he was encouraged by the publication of a few of his epigraphic notes in the *IHQ* (Calcutta) when he was still an M. A. student and in the *IHQ*, the *JRAS* (London) and a few other periodicals soon after he had obtained his Master's degree. He remembered how he took up early South Indian inscriptions for serious study at the suggestion of Prof. H.C. Raychaudhuri and how he was encouraged by an eminent historian as having been able to advance the knowledge of the early history of South India with his research work of a few months' duration. At the same time, he pointed out the necessity of avoiding the publication of unsatisfactory studies in order to safeguard one's own reputation and also referred to the difficulty in removing a bad impression about one's scholarship created by such studies even in a small circle. This he illustrated by his note on the Erraguḍi version of Aśoka's MRE I-II which was written and published when he was an M. A. student.

Prof. Sircar mentioned the following among the important epigraphs published by him in the first period of his life upto 1948 when he was a Lecturer in the University of Calcutta : (1) Bhubaneswar inscription of Anaṅga-bhīma III mentioning his dominions as 'Puruṣottama's empire'; (2) Purī plates representing Bhānu II as a vassal of Puruṣottama; (3) Pīpardulā plates of Narendra of Śarabhapura; (4) Kalaikuri-Sultanpur plate of the Gupta year 120; (5) Paikpara-Betka image inscription of Govindacandra, regnal year 23; (6) Narayanpur Viṣṇu image inscription of Mahīpāla I; (7) Kailān plate of king Śrī Īhāraṇarāta of Samatāṭa; (8) Midnapore plates of Śasāṅka; etc., etc. Prof. Sircar briefly referred to the importance of some of these inscriptions and paid homage to the greatness of scholars like Kielhorn and Lüders as experts in Indian epigraphical and palaeographical studies. Narendra of Śarabhapura and Śrī Īhāraṇa of Samatāṭa are really new names now revealed by their epigraphic records for the first time. He also spoke of his interesting experience in connection with some of the above-mentioned inscriptions, *e.g.*, the Midnapore plates.

Discussion : Dr. A. K. Chatterjee wanted to know the basis of the identification of king Govindacandra of the Paikpara-Betka (Dacca District) inscription and the homonymous ruler of Vaṅgādeśa known from the Tirumalai inscription (1025 A.D.) of Rājendracoḷa as defeated by the Coḷa forces shortly before the date of the inscription. Prof. Sircar replied that the Candras ruled at first in Candradvīpa (Bāklā Candradvīp in the Buckergunge District) in South Bengal and later over wider areas of South-East Bengal with their capital at Vikramapura in the Dacca District whence their copper-plate grants were issued. On palaeographical grounds, he pointed out,

Śricandra's inscriptions were assigned to the tenth century and Govindacandra's record to the eleventh century A.D. and we know from the Mainamati plates that Govindacandra was the great-grandson of Śricandra. Prof. Sircar further observed that, according to the author of the *Śābdapradīpa*, his grandfather was the court physician of Govindacandra while his father served king Rāmapāla (c. 1080-1125 A.D.) in the same capacity, so that Govindacandra, a contemporary of Rājendracoṣa (1012-44 A.D.) and Rāmapāla's father (Vigrahapāla III, c. 1050-78 A.D.) appears to have ruled over South-East Bengal in c. 1020-55 A.D.

Dr. Chatterjee further observed that the Sarnath inscription may not prove the inclusion of Vārāṇasī within the dominions of Mahīpāla I. Prof. Sircar said that he did not agree with this well-known argument. The enmity between Mahīpāla and Kalacuri Gāṅgeya is established by the latter's rule in Tīrabhukti in 1019 A.D. (according to a Nepalese manuscript) and the former's occupation of the said country before his 48th regnal year (the date of his Imadpur inscription). Under the circumstances, the building and re-pairing activities of Mahīpāla's younger brothers Sthirapāla and Vasantapāla at Vārāṇasī involving their stay there for a considerable period would have been made impossible by the Kalacuri king's officers at the place if it would have been in Kalacuri possession at the time, though, according to Baihaqi, the region was within the territory of king Gang (Gāṅgeya) about 1034 A.D.

XXXIX

Lecturer : Prof. D. C. Sircar, Director of the Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University.

Subject : Chips from an Epigraphist's Workshop - II.

Date : Tuesday, the 29th March, 1973.

Present : Dr. S. K. Mitra, M. A., LL.B., Ph. D. ; Dr. Sm. P. Niyogi, M.A., Ph.D. ; Dr. Sm. C. Gupta, M. A., LL. B., Ph. D. ; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL. B., Ph.D. ; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., Ph. D. ; Pandit R. K. Bhattacharya, M. A. ; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M. A., Ph. D. ; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M. A., Ph.D. ; Dr. S. P. Singh, M. A., Ph. D. ; Dr. Sm. R. Chatterjee, M. A., Ph. D. ; Dr. J. R. Haldar, M. A., Ph. D. ; Dr. Sm. J. Maitra, M. A., Ph.D. ; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M. A. ; Sm. B. Chatterjee, M. A. ; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M. A. ; Sm. A. Banerji, M. A. ; Sri C. Jeeva Dhas, M. A. ; Sri S. Chatterjee, M.A. ; Sm. K. Ray, M. A. ; Sm. S. P. Mondal, M. A. ; Sm. M. Sengupta, M.A. ; Dr. Sm. M. Mukhopadhyay, M.A., Ph.D. ; and others.

Summary : In this second lecture of the series, Prof. Sircar discussed his activities and experiences in the field of epigraphical study primarily during the period from the beginning of 1949 to the middle of 1961, when

he served as an officer of the Epigraphical Branch (then at Ootacamund) of the Archaeological Survey of India. He pointed out how this was the most fruitful part of his career as an epigraphist because it gave him an opportunity to create a record by editing the largest number of inscriptions in the pages of the *Epigraphia Indica*.

The important inscriptions published by Prof. Sircar during this period may be divided into two groups, *viz.*, those he traced in the heaps of impressions lying in the Epigraphical Branch and in the bundles that were received back from Germany and those he himself discovered particularly in the course of his tours. In the first group fall the following epigraphs—(1) Madras Museum plates of Narendradhavalā, (2) Charter of Viṣṇusena, (3) Rajghat inscription of Bhīmadeva, (4) Bhubaneswar inscriptions of Anaṅgabhīma III, (5) Purī inscriptions of Anaṅgabhīma III, (6) Chhoti Sadri inscription of Gaurī, (7) Rāmeśvarīyam inscription of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa, (8) several sets of the Pāṇḍukes'vara plates, etc. The second group includes—(1) Valgudar inscription of Madanapāla, Regnal year 18 and Śaka 1083, (2) Alagum inscription of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga, (3) Nagari plates of Anaṅgabhīma III, (4) Tippera plate of Bhavadeva of Devapārvata, (5) Mahada plates of Someśvaradevavarman, (6) Madanpara plate of Viśvarūpasena, (7) Bangaon plate of Vigrahapāla III, (8) Balangir Museum plates of Yayāti Mahāśivagupta I, (9) Sanokhar inscription of Ballālasena, (10) Mandasor inscription of Gaurī, (11) Bhaturiya inscription of Rājyapāla, (12) Gayā inscriptions of the Kākaṭīya, Hoysala and Vijayanagara kings, (13) Maurya inscription from Mathurā, (14) Banda plates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Parakṛaśālya, etc. He also referred to a third group of epigraphs which circumstances gave him opportunity to study even though they had been discovered by others. This group includes—(1) Tortoise-shell inscriptions in the Dacca Museum, (2) Lāhaḍapura inscription of Jayaccandra, (3) Dubi plates of Bhāskara-varman, (4) Barganga inscription of Bhūti-varman, etc. Prof. Sircar indicated the importance of some of these inscriptions. Thus he pointed out how the Sanokhar inscription is the only record to prove Sena occupation of Bihar and how the Valgudar inscription is the only Pāla epigraph indicating the first year of a Pāla king's rule. In the same way, he sometimes narrated his experiences in connection with some epigraphs; *e.g.*, how the Sanokhar inscription was discovered from a totally unexpected corner, how he reached the site of the Barganga inscription by bullock cart and by walking to see that the record was more easily readable than expected and how the person who gave him information about the Alagum epigraph was made the joint author of his paper on the subject merely with a view to encouraging him in spite of his ignorance of the English language.

In conclusion, Prof. Sircar mentioned some epigraphic records which he

published during the third and last phase of his career, *i.e.*, from the middle of 1961 to date, when he was at the University of Calcutta after having left the epigraphical Branch of the Archaeological Survey of India. In this group of inscriptions, he placed—(1) Ahraura and New Delhi inscriptions of Aśoka, (2) Seal of the Raktamṛttikā monastery, (3) British Museum seal of Avarigṣa, (4) Paśchimbhag plate of Śricandra, (5) Mainamati plates of Laḍa-bacandra and Govindacandra, (6) Nilachal plates of Mādhava, (7) Andhau inscription of Caṣṭana, year 11, (8) Siyān inscription of the time of Nayapāla, etc.

Discussion : Dr. S. P. Singh observed that Prof. Sircar did not mention the important Kailvan inscription of the Kaṇiṣka year 108 and the Kāṇṇ plate of Jivagupta, which were discovered respectively in the Patna and Muzaffarpur Districts of Bihar and were published by himself. Prof. Sircar admitted that it was not possible for him to include in the present survey all the interesting epigraphs edited by him. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay drew attention to Prof. Sircar's mention of a Patna Museum inscription in which the Buddha is called *Advitiya-puruṣa* and wanted to know the date of the record. On Prof. Sircar's reply that the inscription, possibly discovered in the Mathurā region, is dated in the year 16 of the Kaṇiṣka era, probably corresponding to 94 A. D., Dr. Bandyopadhyay drew attention to the Greek corruption of a similar epithet in the legend of a type of Kuṣāṇa coins—*Advaya-S'akyamuni*. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee wanted to know whether names of coins are found in the inscriptions of the Pālas. Prof. Sircar replied that the Bodhgaya inscription of the time of Dharmapāla mentions the *dramma* and the Bhatūriyā inscription of Rājyapāla speaks of the *purāṇa*, both being the modified *kāṣṭhapaṇa* of medieval times weighing about 20 *ratīs* of silver.

MONTHLY SEMINARS AT THE CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY

LIX¹

Thursday, the 20th July, 1972

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. (in the chair); Dr. 'A. N. Lahiri, M. A., D. Litt. ; Sri T. N. Chakraborty, M. A. ; Sm. C. Sengupta, M.A., LL.B. ; Dr. D.R. Das, M.A., D.Phil. ; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., D. Phil. ; Pandit R.K. Bhattacharya, M.A. ; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D. Phil. ; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D. Phil. ; Dr. Sm. J. Maitra, M.A., Ph. D. ; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M.A. ; Sm. B. Chatterjee, M. A. ; Sri A. K. Jha, M.A. ; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A. ; Sm. N. Bandyopadhyay, M.A. ; Sm. M. Sengupta, M.A. ; Sri S. K. Das, M.A. ; and others.

Proceedings ; Sri R. K. Billorey read a paper on 'Folklore of Nimār' in which he discussed the Vrata rites performed by the womenfolk of the Nimār region in Madhya Pradesh. These rites are associated with the worship of the Sun, Moon, stars, trees, hills, rivers, snakes, etc. The festivals include also Ganagaur, Gaṇeśotsava, Ahilyotsava, etc. Some of the deities worshipped are Saptamāṛkā, Āśāpurī, Satīmātā, Haḍkimātā, Maṛīmātā, Lāl-bāi, Phūlbāi, Santosīmātā, etc. Besides, there are deified heroes and saints like Tejājī, Rāmadevjī, Khaṇḍerāv, Siṅgājī and Tāntyā Bhīl. Sri Billorey also exhibited some ritual paintings from Nimār.

Prof. D. C. Sircar referred to the relationship of the folk culture and art of the Nimār area with those of other parts of the country. In this connection, he observed how the Bengali folktale of king Habu Candra and his minister Gabu Candra, who prescribed the same price for the same measure of all articles in the kingdom, resembles a Hindi tale about king Harbong. He wanted some details about deified persons like Tejājī, Rāmadevjī, Khaṇḍerāv, etc. Sri Billorey observed that the aforesaid deities were represented as riding on horse back with sword in hand. This reminded Prof. Sircar of a deity called Baṅgālī Bābu worshipped by the fishermen of the area about the border between Orissa and Andhra Pradesh. The painted clay figure of the deity in the Madras Museum wears a hat and rides on a black horse (Thurston, *CTSI*, Vol. IV, p. 117). Sri A. K. Jha pointed out that Santosīmātā was worshipped in Bihār also. Prof. Sircar observed that, with the spread of education among girls, folktales of the old type are dying out.

2. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay discussed 'Recent Studies in Early Indian Eco-

1 Continued from Vol. V, p. 376.

conomic History' and pointed out how, in some cases, authors are found to continue copying the mistakes of earlier writers, for many years, without entering into the details of the problem. He referred, in this connection, to the measure called *pailā* dealt with by two recent writers on economic history (P. Niyogi, *Economic History of Northern India*, 1962, p. 114, and D.R. Das, *Economic History of the Deccan*, 1969, pp. 46-47), who depended on a table quoted by P. N. Bhattacharya as follows : $7\frac{1}{2}$ seers = 1 *purā* ; 16 *purās* = 1 *bhūtā* ; and 16 *bhūtās* = 1 *pailā*. According to the table, therefore, 1 *pailā* is equal to $7\frac{1}{2} \times 16 \times 16 = 1920$ seers = 48 maunds. Bhattacharya, however, miscalculated and regarded 1 *pailā* as equal to 16 maunds instead of 48 maunds and he has been followed by both the authors of the economic history of Northern India and the Deccan. Dr. D. R. Das wanted the reference to Bhattacharya's note on the subject. Dr. Bandyopadhyay replied that it is in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LII, 1923, p. 180. Prof. Sircar recounted his own experiences in the field of research in order to emphasise the difficulty of avoiding errors altogether and drew attention, in this connection, to the adage—*munināṇ = ca mati-bhramah*.

3. Prof. D. C. Sircar then discussed the excellence and shortcomings of some recent works on the early history of Bengal. In this connection he mentioned two remarkable works : (1) *Political Centres and Culture Regions in Early Bengal* by B. M. Morrison and (2) *History of Ancient Bengal* by R. C. Majumdar and pointed out certain errors and shortcomings in those works. Sm. C. Gupta wanted to know whether Morrison analysed the epigraphic data successfully. Prof. Sircar replied that his treatment exhibits considerable ability, but that there are errors due to his failure to master the entire evidence. As regards the other work, which is actually a revised edition of the *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, published by the University of Dacca in 1943, Prof. Sircar particularly mentioned the remarkable fact that the author has published it at the age of 83, but pointed out that revision of the old work is not quite satisfactory at some places, e.g., in regard to the epithet *Garuḍadhvaṇa* applied to king Gāṅgeyadeva, the relations between the Ambaṣṭha-Vaidyas of Eastern and Southern India, etc. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay pointed out that there is no discussion on the coins of ancient Bengal in the said book. Prof. Sircar observed that there is likewise no discussion on the early Bengali script.

[See Prof. Sircar's notes, above, Vol. V, pp. 394-99.]

LX

Monday, the 21st August, 1972

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair) ; Sri T. N. Chakraborty, M.A. ; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL. B., D.Phil. ; Pandit

R. K. Bhattacharya, M.A. ; Dr. Sm. K. Sahā, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. S. P. Singh, M. A., D.Phil.; Dr. Sm. R. Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D.; Dr. Sm. J. Maitra, M. A., Ph. D. ; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M.A. ; Sm. B. Chatterjee, M.A. ; .Sri A. K. Jha, M. A. ; Sri R. K. Billorey, M.A. ; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A. ; Sri A. Prasad, M.A. ; Sm. A. Bandyopadhyay, M.A. ; Sm. K. Ray, M.A. ; Sri C. Jeeva Dhas M.A. ; Sri S.K. Das, M.A. ; and others.

Proceedings : Sri R. K. Billorey read a paper on 'India as described in Some Arabian Tales', in which he pointed out how the stories of 'Sindbad the Sailor', 'The Enchanted Horse' and 'Prince Ahmed and the Fairy Paribanou' supply us interesting information about India, her culture, trade relations with other countries, important ports and market-towns, chief commodities of import and export, the caste system, the custom of Satī, slavery, activities of the pirates, current fashions, beliefs and practices, hospitality, etc. He further said that the narrative of Sindbad was borrowed from Al-Idrīsī, Al-Kazwini, Abu al-Wardī and also from two works of the 9th century entitled *Ajaib al-Hind (Marvels of India)* and *Two Mohammadan Travellers*. Regarding the date of some of the stories, Prof. Sircar observed that if the identification of Bisnagar with Vijayanagar is correct, the story cannot be dated earlier than the 14th century A.D. when the kingdom of Vijayanagara was founded. He further remarked that the Arabian stories contain much that is rather fanciful.

2. Sri S. K. Das read his paper entitled 'The Attribution of Two Ahom Coins', in which he dealt with two octagonal Ahom coins of silver weighing about 176 grains. The coins bear no device, and the legend reads—*S'ri-S'ri-Svarganārāyaṇadevasya S'aka 1570* on the obverse of both and *S'ri-īri-Harī-Harā-Endra-caraṇa-parāyaṇasya* on the reverse of the two coins. Sri Das observed that numismatists like Smith, Allan and Stapleton attribute the coins to Pratāpasimha (1603-41 A.D.) who is supposed to have issued them immediately before his death ; but Sri Das did not consider the said view acceptable. In his opinion, the coins may be attributed to Jayadhvasimha (1648-63). He also suggested that the chronology offered by Kāśīnāth is not correct. Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that these coins issued by a king (probably not two kings), whose name does not occur on them, remind us of similar other royal issues without the king's name, e.g., the coins of the *Soter Megas* of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty. Prof. Sircar emphasised the point that there must have been some political reason for which the coins were issued without the name of the issuer in the legend. He realised, however, the difficulty in determining the reason for this in the case of these coins.

[The coin has been assigned to Jayadhvasimha in Botham's *Cat* , 1930.—Ed.]

3. Prof. D. C. Sircar read two articles, the first of which was a note on

'An Image Inscription from Afghanistan'. A photograph of the inscribed pedestal of the image was sent to him by Dr. P. L. Gupta of the Patna Museum, who had received it from the Head of the Kyoto University's Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan. Prof. Sircar observed that the inscription, written in Sanskrit and Late Brāhmī characters of the 6th or 7th century A. D., reads as follows : (1) *ekā mū [r] tis=tridhā jāta Pra (Bra)-hmā Viṣṇu[r]=Mmaheśvaraḥ (/*) karttā Vi-* (2) *[ṣṇu]ḥ kṛ(krī)yā Pra (Bra)-hmā [k]āraṇan=tu Maheśvaraḥ o/uktañ=ca bhagavatā Mahādeva (/*) Ye-(Ya)th=āg[n]im=agī(bhī)prakṣīpya viś[o]dhā(dhā)n-opalakṣaṇam(ṇam)†* (3) *kṛtv=āham c=aiva Viṣṇuś=ca Vra(Bra)hmā ca nirayaṁ gata(h*)* // Prof. Sircar thought that the words *kartt* (actor), *kriyā* (action) and *kāraṇa* (cause) have been used in verse 1 in respect of the gods Brahman, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara-Mahādeva (Śiva) in the senses respectively of the creator, the creation and the motive force behind the creation. Verse 2, which is represented as uttered by Lord Mahādeva and is difficult to read and interpret, probably says that, in an attempt to purify themselves by throwing themselves into fire, the said god as well as Brahman and Viṣṇu all went to hell.

[The note has been published above, pp. 2ff. ; cf. p. 177.]

4. Prof. Sircar then read his second paper on 'The Vaidya Community of Orissa'. He pointed out how during the past three decades he has been trying to trace the history of the ancient Ambaṣṭha tribe settled in different parts of India such as the Ambaṣṭha-Kāyasthas of Bihār and the Ambaṣṭha-Vaidyas of Bengal as well as the Ambaṣṭha-Vaidya-Paṇḍitas of Tamilnadu and Kerala, who are called Ambastai in Ptolemy's Geography and Vaidya in the early Cālukya and Pāṇḍya inscriptions. Prof. Sircar said that he originally suggested that the Ambaṣṭha-Vaidya-Paṇḍitas of South India, who are physicians, surgeons, priests and barbers, settled in sizable numbers in Bengal during the days of the Pālas and Senas and contributed to the crystallization of the physician community of the Vaidyas of the said land. He now drew attention to the Vaidya-Paṇḍitas of Orissa, who are physicians and astrologers and are regarded as low class Brāhmaṇas, and suggested that the Oriya Vaidya-Paṇḍitas also came from the south and are the same as the South Indian Ambaṣṭha-Vaidya-Paṇḍita community. Prof. Sircar drew further attention to a *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* story associating the progenitor of the Ambaṣṭhas with the South Indian river Godāvarī and representing him as the son of the heavenly physician Aśvinikumāra from a Brāhmaṇa woman and as an expert in the science of medicine and in astrology. The story also says that the said progenitor of the Ambaṣṭhas was regarded as a degraded Brāhmaṇa because he accepted money for his astrological calculations. In Prof. Sircar's opinion, this Purāṇic reference relates to the Oriya Vaidyas.

Dr. A. K. Chatterjee thanked Prof. Sircar for being able to show that the Ambaṣṭhas of the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* are the same as the Vaidya-Panditas of Orissa because both follow the profession of astrologers. He further said that the Bengali Vaiṣṇava texts like the *Caitanyabhāgavata* speaks of the rivalry between the Brāhmaṇas and the Vaidyas.

[The note has been published above. pp. 173ff.]

LXI

Thursday, the 21st September, 1972

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. (in the chair) ; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D. Litt. ; Sri T. N. Chakraborty, M.A. ; Pandit R.K. Bhattacharya, M.A. ; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D. Phil. ; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. S. P. Singh, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. Sm. R. Chatterjee, M. A., Ph. D. ; Dr. Sm. J. Maitra, M. A., Ph. D. ; Dr. Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M. A. ; Sm. B. Chatterjee, M. A. ; Sri A. K. Jha, M. A. ; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M. A. ; Sm. A. Banerji, M.A. ; Sri M.S. Mohana Nehru, M. A. ; Sri C. Jeeva Dhas, M. A. ; Sri R. K. Billorey, M. A. ; Sri S. Chatterjee, M.A. ; Sm. S. P. Mondal, M. A. ; and others.

Proceedings : In connection with the account of Prof. Sircar's note on a Brāhmī image inscription from Afghanistan, read at the previous Monthly Seminar, as recorded in the proceedings, Prof. Sircar observed that an inaccurate and meaningless text of the said inscription has been published in a preliminary report entitled *Archæological Survey of Kyoto University in Afghanistan*. Prof. Sircar quoted this faulty transcript and requested the members present to trace the errors by comparing it with his transcript quoted in the proceedings of the previous Monthly Seminar. The Japanese report quoted the text of the image inscription often with unnecessary or wrong emendations.

[See above, p. 2]

2. Sri R. K. Billorey read a note entitled 'A Humorous Tale from Nīmār and its Bengali and Persian Versions'. He said that not only the general framework and the style of narration are the same in all the versions, but that there are some points found common in all these stories. For instance, all the three refer to three tanks or streams, out of which two were 'dry' and the third 'had no water'. Similarly, they refer to three cooking pots out of which two were 'broken' and the third 'had no bottom'. He observed that it is difficult to say which story was the original one.

Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that there are similar other cases of the migration of folktales from one land to another. Sri A. K. Jha wanted to know the value of Sri Billorey's findings. Prof. Sircar replied that Sri Billorey had drawn our attention to parallels of the same story in different regions

and we have to find out as to who was the borrower and from whom. Prof. Sircar also observed that it is not always easy to determine the date of folktales, but that, in this case, it appears that the Nimāris borrowed the tale from the Muslims during the medieval period. Sri Billorey accepted the possibility and said that the Persian story was written for the first time in Kermani and Bakhtiari. He also thought it possible that it was carried to Bengal by the Muslims.

3. Sri Billorey then read another note entitled 'The so-called Śiva Image in the Indian Museum' and exhibited the photograph of the image in question. He said that the image was not that of Śiva, but appeared to him to be a synthetic form of Sūrya and Śiva, i.e. Mārtanḍa-bharrava. The lotus held in the upper right hand indicates the solar feature, while the trident in the lower right suggests Śiva to be a part of the composite icon.

Dr. Sm. J. Matra expressed her doubt regarding the *triśūla* held in the lower right hand and suggested that it might be *vajra*. She also pointed out that the conception of Mārtanḍa-bhairava known from different texts and from extant images suggests more than one face of the deity. Prof. Sircar, however, did not consider it impossible to regard the deity as having the characteristics of Śiva and the Sun-god.

4. Prof. D. C. Sircar then read a paper entitled 'Some Epithets of Brāhmaṇa Donees in South Indian Charters' in which he tried to offer correct interpretations of the expressions *Gṛhita-sahasra*, *Varṇa-traya-nivṛtta*, *Aśiti-tarkaka* and *Sahasra-tarkaka*. Prof. Sircar first pointed out how the interpretations of these expressions so far offered by scholars (including his own explanation of *Gṛhitasāhasra* in his *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*) are unsatisfactory. He observed that *Gṛhita-sahasra* indicated a qualification of the Brāhmaṇas like *Caturvedavid* (proficient in all the four Vedas) and means either that the Brāhmaṇa in question won one thousand coins or some other objects after defeating all his rivals in dispute as Yājñavalkya is said to have won one thousand cows with ten *pādas* of gold tied to each of their horns after his success at Janaka's court or that the person successfully answered all questions relating to one thousand slips taken out of the jar in the old *Ghaṭikā* test of Vedic learning. *Varṇa-traya-nivṛtta* means, in Prof. Sircar's opinion, that the Brāhmaṇa in question was orthodox and avoided the unholiness of any contact with the Non-Brāhmaṇa communities. Prof. Sircar explained *Aśiti-tarkaka* and *Sahasra-tarkaka* as one who successfully answered all questions put to him by eighty or one thousand rivals exactly as in the fashion of the Śarayantra test prevalent in medieval Mithilā.

Pandit R. K. Bhattacharya admitted that a feat like that of Yājñavalkya at Janaka's court would indeed have entitled a Brāhmaṇa to be styled *Gṛhitasāhasra*.

LXII

Thursday, the 5th October, 1972

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. (in the chair) ; Dr. T. N. Chakraborty, M. A. ; Dr. S. K. Mitra, M. A., LL.B., D. Phil. ; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M. A., LL.B., D. Phil. ; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M. A., D. Phil. ; Sm. C. Gupta, M.A., LL.B., D. Phil. ; Pandit R.K. Bhattacharya, M.A. ; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D. Phil. ; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. S. P. Singh, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. Sm. J. Maitra, M. A., Ph.D. ; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M. A. ; Sm. C. Chatterjee, M. A. ; Sri R. K. Billorey, M. A. ; Sm. M. Sengupta, M.A. ; Sri M. S. M. Nehru, M. A. ; Sri C. Jeeva Dhas, M. A. ; Sm. S. Mondal, M. A. ; Sm. K. Ray, M. A. ; and others.

Proceedings : Pandit R.K. Bhattacharya read a paper on 'The Name and Epithet of the Queen who issued the Nānāghāṭ Inscription'. He observed that the name of the queen is variously given by different scholars as Nāyanikā, Nāganikā and Nāgannikā. According to Pandit Bhattacharya, the correct form of the name is *Nāgannikā*, for it is a corrupt form of Sanskrit *Nāgākanyakā*, literally 'the daughter of the Nāga king'. Pandit Bhattacharya cited the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* in order to show how the queens were often named after their paternal country, e.g., Kaikeyī, Gāndhārī, Mādrī, Pāñcālī, etc. with a view to distinguishing them from the other queens.

Prof. D. C. Sircar did not agree with Pandit Bhattacharya's suggestion and drew attention to the fact that *anikā* (i.e. *annikā*) is generally found suffixed to female names in early South Indian inscriptions in which male names usually have the suffix *anaka* (i.e. *annakn*). Some such male and female names found in early South Indian epigraphs are Khamdasāgarāṇnaka (Skandasāgara-annaka), Bapisirinikā (Bappisiri-annikā), Harṇmasirinikā (Harṇmasiri-annikā), Budhizānaka (Buddhi-annaka), Buddhamnikā (Buddhā-annikā), Revatīnikā (Revati-annikā), etc. ; cf. also Candamukhamāna (Candramukha-anna=Candramukha-annaka), Haghamni (Saṅgha-anna=Saṅgha-annakā). In Prof. Sircar's opinion, the name Nāyanikā found in the Nanaghat inscription stands for *Nāgannikā*, i.e. Nāgā-annikā, so that the queen's name was really Nāgā and not Nāgākanyakā which can hardly be a personal name. Of course the name Nāgā suggests that she was born in a Nāga family.

2. Dr. S. P. Singh then read a note on the 'Geographical Names in the Kāṣṭhā Copper-plate Inscription of Jivagupta', in which he made an attempt to locate some of the place names referred to in the said copper-plate grant from the Muzaffarpur District of Bihār. He said that the villages of Surabhākra, Harigrāmaka and Yāmyā mentioned in the record may be the same respectively as modern Śubhāṅkarpur, Haripur and Yanāḍh under the

Kāṭrā Police Station. Dr. Singh pointed out that the temple of the goddess Cāmuṇḍā seems to be the modern Cāmuṇḍā-thān near Kāṭrā. In Dr. Singh's opinion, the Cāmuṇḍā-viṣaya was roughly identical with the present Kāṭrā Police Station. Prof. Sircar regarded some of Dr. Singh's identifications as interesting.

3. Śrī R. K. Billorey next read a paper entitled 'Deified Human Beings in Nimār', in which he mentioned a number of persons who acquired divine status and became objects of popular worship. Of them, a cowherd named Siṅgāṇi, is worshipped on the full moon of autumn and another deified cowherd named Bhilaṭ is worshipped in shrines found in almost all villages of Nimār. Besides, Khaṇḍeśv worshipped by the Marāṭhās is represented as riding a horse with a sword in hand and accompanied by his wife. Tejāṇi is similarly represented (but without his wife) and is worshipped by the Jāṭs for safety from snake-bite. Rāmdevṇi Mahārāj is known as Rāmā Pīr among the Muslims. A deified robber named Tāṇṭyā Bhīl is worshipped especially by the Bhīls. Other deified human beings are Lāl Beg, Kāle Khān and Muse Khān. Prof. Sircar observed that human beings, rendered partial or full divinities, belong, in Bengal, mostly to the class of saints, both Hindu and Muslim.

4. Prof. D. C. Sircar discussed the problem of 'Relative Value of Gold, Silver and Copper in Ancient India'. He pointed out that there are only a few indications on these points in literary and epigraphic records and drew attention to three such indications, though none of them is of a conclusive nature. Firstly, Prof. Sircar referred to a Nasik inscription of the Śaka chief Uṣavādāta of Maharashtra equating 35 Kārṣāpaṇas [of silver] with one Suvarṇa [of gold]. The old silver Kārṣāpaṇa weighed 32 Ratis and the gold Suvarṇa of 80 Ratis so that $35 \times 32 = 1120$ Ratis of silver = 80 Ratis of gold would offer the ratio between silver and gold as $14 :: 1$; but the reference may be to the silver coin of Nahapāna (about 20 Ratis though the theoretical weight may have been 24 Ratis) and the gold coins of the Kuṣāṇas (about 68 Ratis) so that $35 \times 20 = 700$ Ratis of silver = 68 Ratis of gold would give the ratio $10.3 :: 1$. Secondly, the Baigram copper-plate inscription shows that, in Bengal during the reign of Kumāragupta I, 16 Rūpakas [of silver] made one Dīnāra [of gold]. These are very probably Kumāragupta's silver coins of about 20 Ratis and his gold coins of about 68 Ratis so that $16 \times 20 = 320$ Ratis of silver = 68 Ratis of gold offering the ratio as $4.7 :: 1$. Thirdly, the *Lilāvati*, a 12th century work of Maharashtra, mentions 16 Paṇas [of copper] = one Dramma [of silver] and 16 Drammas = 1 Niṣka [gold]. This Dramma was equivalent to 128 cowrie-shells and was elsewhere called Kāhaṇa or Kārṣāpaṇa weighing 24 Ratis theoretically but 20 Ratis actually, and the *Lilāvati* elsewhere refers to Dharāṇa [of silver] weighing 24 Ratis and to Gadyāṇaka [of gold] weighing 48 Ratis. If Paṇa of copper and Niṣka

of gold weighed 80 Ratis each, $16 \times 80 = 1280$ Ratis of copper = 20 Ratis of silver would suggest the ratio 64 : 1 (or a little less if we count 24 Ratis in place of 20) and $16 \times 20 = 320$ Ratis of silver = 48 Ratis of gold would suggest the ratio 6.6 :: 1.

Dr. A. N. Lahiri observed that the Dramma corresponded to the Greek Drachma of Attic standard weighing 67.5 grains. Dr. S. P. Singh supported him and pointed out that the *Ādivarāha-dramma* of Bhoja I and the Sasanian coins correspond to the Drachma standard of 67.5 grains. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay did not agree with these views and observed that Indian literature speaks of various types of Drammas of different standards, and it is difficult to identify them with actual specimens. Dr. Singh said that some of the Drammas like *Ādivarāha-dramma*, etc., have already been identified with the actual specimens and their weights correspond to the Drachma standard. Dr. Bandyopadhyay pointed out that the word *dramma* does not occur on the *Ādivarāha* coins. Prof. Sircar agreed with Dr. Bandyopadhyay as regards the varied nature of the Dramma and observed that, in his *Studies in Indian Coins*, he regarded the *Ādivarāha* coins as Double-Dramma weighing about 40 Ratis.

LXIII

Thursday, the 23rd November, 1972

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. (In the chair); Sri T. N. Chakraborty, M. A.; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M. A., D. Litt.; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M. A., LL. B., D. Phil.; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M. A., D. Phil.; Pandit R. K. Bhattacharya, M. A.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M. A., D. Phil.; Dr. S. P. Singh, M. A., D. Phil.; Dr. Sm. R. Chatterjee, M. A., D. Phil.; Sri R. K. Billorey, M. A.; Sri M. S. Mohana Nehru, M. A.; Sri C. Jeeva Dhas, M. A.; Sm. S. Mondal, M. A.; Sm. A. Bandyopadhyay, M. A.; Sm. M. Mitra, M. A.; and others.

Proceedings : Sm. A. Banerji read her note entitled 'An Important Passage from the *Khaṇḍakhadyaka*'. She quoted the passage from Brahmagupta's work and contended that Al-Bīrūnī obtained information regarding the tradition about the origin of the Śaka era, as noticed in his *Kitāb-ul Hind*, from Brahmagupta's text.

Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that Sm. Banerji's conclusion is not improbable though it is difficult to prove it definitely in the present state of our knowledge. Sri T. N. Chakraborty observed that the evidence discussed by Sm. Banerji seems to support her conclusion.

Sri R. K. Bhattacharya observed that the word *śaka* itself means 'an era'; but Prof. Sircar pointed out that the said meaning of the word developed a few centuries after Brahmagupta.

2. Sri R. K. Billorey spoke on 'Folk Ritual Paintings of Nimār, Madhya Pradesh' and exhibited paintings which included the following : (1) Jiroṭī painted on walls, representing the goddess Jarā worshipped for the protection of children from evil influences ; (2) Nāga-Pañcamī ; (3) Daśa-harā ; (4) Govardhanapūjā ; (5) Bhaiyā-dūj (Bhrātṛ-dvitiyā ; (6) Sānjī which is the festival of unmarried girls during Navarātri ; and (7) Pagaliyā (literally, 'footprints') which is a painting drawn on the occasion of the birth of a baby.

Prof. D. C. Sircar pointed out that the representation of Govardhana in human form is interesting. He further observed that the paintings are not sophisticated, but that it is sometimes difficult to identify the objects depicted. Sri Billorey explained some of the objects depicted and the rituals concerned.

3. Prof. D. C. Sircar then read his note entitled 'Dramma, Rūpaka and Kārṣāpaṇa', in which he commented on the view expressed in the previous Monthly Seminar to the effect that the Dramma coins always followed the Greek Drachma standard of 67.5 grains as indicated by the Ādivarāha and Vighraha coins. Prof. Sircar drew attention to the following points mostly noticed previously in his *Studies in Indian Coins* : (1) The silver coins of the West Indian Śakas were called Kārṣāpaṇa, their theoretical weight being 24 Ratis, but actual weight about 20 Ratis. (2) The silver issues of the Guptas and Kalacuris, among others, which were imitated from the said Śaka coins, were called Rūpaka. (3) According to Viṣṇuṣeṇa's charter, 20 Viṣṇopakas were equal to one Rūpaka while the Siyadoni inscriptions say that 20 Viṣṇopakas made one Dramma of Vighrahatuṅga. (4) While the 12th century work of Maharashtra, entitled *Lilāvati* (I, 2), mentions 1280 cowries as equal to 16 Paṇas and to one Dramma, arithmetical tables of late medieval Bengal speak of 1280 cowries = 16 Paṇas = one Kāhaṇa (Sanskrit Kārṣāpaṇa). (5) Just as the Baigram plate of 5th century Bengal equates 16 Rūpakas or Gupta silver coins with one Gupta gold coin called Dīnāra (about 68 Ratis), the *Lilāvati* regards 16 Drammas apparently of silver as equal to one Niṣka, apparently similar to a Dīnāra of gold. (6) Elsewhere the *Lilāvati* gives the weight of the Dharāṇa (the same as Purāṇa or silver Kārṣāpaṇa) as 24 Ratis which was the theoretical weight of the Rūpaka and it is possible to think that its Dramma and Dharāṇa are the same. (7) Śiṃhatilakasūri's commentary on the *Gaṇitatilaka* (ed. Kapadia, pp. 39, 103) says that Dramma is called Purāṇa in a work entitled *Trīṭaṭi*. (8) Coins of Śrīmadādivarāha and Śrīvighraha weighing about 60 grains may really be Double-Drammas.

In the discussions that followed, Dr. A. N. Lahiri observed that the Greek name 'Drachma' indicated Indo-Greek silver coins of Attic standard weighing 67.5 grains and later also silver coins of the Indian standard of 20

Ratis (about 36 grains) and pointed out that coins of the latter type issued by Menander and Apollodotus are mentioned in the *Periplus* as Drachma current at Broach ; but he insisted that the Indian form of the name, viz. Drama, is known from early medieval records such as Vighrahapāla-drama, Ādivarāha-drama, etc., were of the old Attic standard weighing 67·5 grains.

Prof. D. C. Sircar and Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay did not agree with Dr. Lahiri and pointed out that the coins bearing a particular name often had various weights. Prof. Sircar observed that the evidence of the *Periplus*, cited by Dr. Lahiri himself, clearly goes against his own views. He also referred to the Yaudheya copper coins bearing the name *darma* (i.e. *drama*) in characters of about the 3rd century A. D. Dr. Bandyopadhyay quoted Mādhavācārya's *Gaṇitasāra* to prove the existence of Drama of different weights. Dr. Lahiri, however, was not inclined to take *darma* of the Yaudheya coins as a coin name for want of contemporary evidence ; but Dr. Bandyopadhyay referred to a Central Asian Kharoṣṭhī inscription of the age of the Yaudheya coins, which bears the abbreviated coin name *dra* (i. e. *drama*).

LXIV

Thursday, the 21st December, 1972

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. (in the chair) ; Sri D. K. Biswas, M. A. ; Sri T. N. Chakraborty, M. A. ; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M. A., D. Phil. ; Pandit R. K. Bhattacharya, M. A. ; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. S. P. Singh, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. Sm. R. Chatterjee, M. A., Ph. D. ; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M. A. ; Sm. B. Chatterjee, M. A. ; Sri R. K. Billorey, M. A. ; Sri A. K. Jha, M. A. ; Sri A. Prasad, M. A. ; Sm. S. Mondal, M. A. ; Sm. K. Ray, M. A. ; Sri M. S. Mohana Nehru, M. A. ; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M. A. ; Sri S. Chatterjee, M. A. ; Sri A. Banerji, M. A. ; and others.

Proceedings : Sri S. Bandyopadhyay read his note entitled 'Varieties of Initial *a* and *ā* in Aśokan Brāhmī', in which he discussed three forms of initial *a* and two forms of *ā* and pointed out how all of them are not noticed in the works of C. S. Upasak and A. H. Dani. Sri Bandyopadhyay accepted Upasak's theory and concluded that such types are due to the individual mannerism of the engraver as well as the unsmooth and hard surface of the rock.

Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that really there was only one standard form of *a* with straight upper-left and lower-left limbs, though the form with these limbs slightly curved may also be regarded as an alternative standard form. He further pointed out that *ā* was written with a horizontal stroke added

to the right side of the right vertical generally at the top but sometimes at the middle and rarely also possibly at the end. In Prof. Sircar's opinion, all the other forms, often called varieties by palaeographers, were due to the inclination or carelessness of the scribes or engravers.

2. Sri R. K. Billorey read his paper on 'Hindu Customs and Ceremonies among Muhammadan Converts of the Nimār Region of Madhya Pradesh'. He pointed out that the Muhammadan castes in Nimār including Nai'a Piñjārā, Meo or Mewāṭī, Rangrez and others practise some Hindu rites foreign to Islam. As in other parts of India; some Hindu customs were retained by converts in the Nimār region and these include pregnancy rites, taboos observed before and after the birth of a child, marriage rituals (*e. g.*, anointing the bridegroom and the bride with oil and turmeric), creating a marriage shade (*mañḍap*), etc. Sri Billorey mentioned a marriage procession of the Piñjārās observed by him at Bhojākhedi, a village near Khandwa; he found the dress of the ladies in it exactly like that of the Hindu women. Their songs also appeared to him to be similar to Hindu marriage songs.

Prof. D. C. Sircar emphasised that the feature referred to by Sri Billorey is more or less common to all parts of India. He mentioned in particular the Dāi community of the Faridpur District now in Bangladesh. Women of this community practised midwifery, while the male members used to beat drums at Hindu functions. Prof. Sircar stated how it was difficult to determine whether they were Hindus or Muslims because the Dāis usually bore Hindu names and their dress and social behaviour were the same as those of the Hindus. He pointed out that this state of things was changed only due to the propaganda of the Muslim League shortly before partition. Dr. S. P. Singh referred to a village in the Gayā District of Bihār where Muslim women sing songs in praise of Gaṇeśa and Viṣṇu during marriage ceremonies and they also draw paintings on the walls during such ceremonies like the Hindu women.

3. Prof. D. C. Sircar read his note entitled 'The Yavanas and Mathurā', in which he first referred to the mention of the Yavana or Greek invasion of Mathurā in the *Yugapurāṇa* section of the *Gārgīśaṃhitā* and of the Yavanarāja or king of the Yavanas hurrying back to reassure his soldiers at Mathurā as found in the Hāthigumphā inscription of king Khāravela of Kālīṅga. He next pointed out how a passage in the Prakrit text of the Jains called *Nisīthasūtra* refers to a Yavanarāja and how its commentary called *Cūṛṇī* associates this Yavana king with Mathurā.

Dr. A. N. Lahiri observed that the commentary mentioned by Prof. Sircar probably refers to the later Greeks who ruled in the Eastern Punjab and might have extended their influence over Mathurā. Prof. Sircar, however, observed that the reference may be to a temporary and not lasting

occupation of Mathurā by the Yavanas. He ruled out a long association of the Yavanas with the place because the early coins of Mathurā do not exhibit influence of the Indo-Greek coinage. In Prof. Sircar's opinion, the *Niśithasūtra* may be assigned to the Gupta age, though the tradition may be earlier.

LXV

Monday, the 15th January, 1973

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph.D (in the chair) ; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M. A., D. Litt. ; Sri T. N. Chakraborty, M. A. ; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M. A., LL.B., D. Phil. ; Pandit R. K. Bhattacharya, M. A. ; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M. A., D.Phil. ; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M. A., D. Phil ; Dr. Sm. R. Chatterjee, M.A., Ph. D. ; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M. A. ; Sri S. Chatterjee, M.A. ; Sm. A. Banerji, M. A. ; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M. A. ; Sri M. S. Mohana Nehru, M.A. ; Sri C. Jeeva Dhas, M.A., Sri A. Prasad, M.A. ; Sm. S. P. Mondal, M.A. ; Sm. K. Ray, M. A. ; and others.

Proceedings : Sri R. K. Billorey read his paper on 'Rock-shelter Paintings from Bilā in the Saugor District, Madhya Pradesh'. He exhibited photographs of the paintings from the place which lies about 45 miles to the north-east of Saugor. The paintings were discovered by his brother Sri J. K. Billorey. They depict human as well as animal figures such as deer, bull, horse, monkey, tiger, etc. In style and theme, the paintings resemble those in the Adamgarh and Pachmari caves in the Hoshangabad District. Sri Billorey pointed out that such rock-shelter paintings generally bear close affinity with the folk and tribal ritual paintings as practised today. According to him, the present custom of decorating homes with paintings is the survival of a pre-historic practice and one can have some idea about the figures and symbols in the rock paintings if one has the knowledge of folk and tribal beliefs and myths.

Dr. A. K. Chatterjee drew Sri Billorey's attention to some rock paintings in the Mirzapur District. Prof. Sircar observed that Madhya Pradesh is full of jungles which abound in rocks so that more rock-shelters and rock-paintings may be discovered there in future.

2. Prof. D. C. Sircar read a note on 'Kaliṅgamahiṣākādhīpati' which means 'the lord of the Kaliṅga and Mahiṣaka countries' and was the title of the Mahāmeghavāhana king Sada of an inscription from Guntupally in the West Godavari District, Andhra Pradesh. Prof. Sircar pointed out that, while editing the inscription in *JAIH*, Vol. III, he was unable to locate any territory called Mahiṣa or Mahiṣaka in the neighbourhood of the Kaliṅga country in the coastal areas of Orissa and Andhra Pradesh. He now drew attention to the country called Mahiṣaka in Pāli works like the *Saṃkhaṇḍapāla*

and *Bhīmasena Jātakas* and pointed out that the Sanskrit form of *Mahīnsaka* is *Mahīṣaka*. Prof. Sircar identified the Candaka (Sanskrit *Candraka*) mountain and the Kṛṣṇavarṇā or Kṛṣṇaveṇvā river associated with the said country respectively with the hills of the Chanda District of Maharashtra and the Waingāṅgā (Venvā-Gaṅgā) river running by the same District. Thus, in his opinion, this Mahīṣaka country comprised the present Chanda region lying immediately to the north of the Godavari Districts which formed parts of the Kaliṅga country.

Dr. A. K. Chatterjee wanted to know whether the Candaka mountain is mentioned in any other source. Prof. Sircar replied that the name Candra applied to a mountain is not unknown in the Purāṇas. Panjit R. K. Bhattacharya suggested the possibility of the existence of only one Mahīṣa country which sometimes denoted a wider and sometimes a narrower area. Prof. Sircar, however, said that a geographical link can hardly be established between the Mahīṣa country on the Narmadā and the Mahīṣa-maṇḍala in South Mysore.

Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay pointed out that, in the list of forests, Kaliṅga-vana and Mahīṣaka-vana are sometimes mentioned side by side. Prof. Sircar observed that, in the lists of geographical names, often places mentioned side by side are found to have been distant from each other.

LXVI

Thursday, the 22nd February, 1973

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. (in the chair) : Dr. S. K. Mitra, M. A., LL.B., D.Phil. ; Dr. Sm. P. Niyogi, M. A., D. Phil. ; Sri T. N. Chakraborty, M. A. ; Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, M. A., LL.B., D. Phil. ; Pandit R. K. Bhattacharya, M. A. ; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. S. P. Singh, M. A., D. Phil. ; Dr. Sm. R. Chatterjee, M. A., Ph. D. ; Sri R. K. Billorey, M. A. ; Sm. K. Bajpeyi, M. A. ; Sri S. Chatterjee, M. A. ; Sm. A. Banerji, M. A. ; Sm. K. Ray, M. A. ; Sri M. S. Mohana Nehru, M. A. ; Sri C. Jeeva Dhas, M. A. ; Sri A. Prasad, M. A. ; Sm. B. Chatterjee, M. A. ; Sm. R. Datta, M. A. ; and others.

Proceedings : Sri R. K. Billorey read his paper entitled 'A Daśabhuja Gaṇeśa from Nagaluti, Karnul District, Andhra Pradesh'. He exhibited a photograph of the god with his Śakti and observed that the image represented Mahāgaṇapati, a form of Śakti-Gaṇeśa. The various attributes in the hands of the deity are—*pāśa*, *gadā*, *aṅkuṣa*, *cakra*, *śankha*, *padma*, water vessel and *laṭṭhika*. One of the hands embraces the Śakti standing on his lap. The god wears necklaces, a snake as a belt about his waist and a *ratna-mukuta* on the head.

Prof. D. C. Sircar pointed out that Gaṇeśa's Śakti is generally represented as separate from the deity though, in some cases, Śakti and Gaṇeśa are represented in the *ardha-nārī* form. But such is not the case with the present image. Prof. Sircar pointed out that the elephant-headed god may have been worshipped by the Nonaryans from an early period ; but his admission in the Brāhmanical pantheon is not much earlier than the Gupta age. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay wanted to know the date of the image, and Prof. Sircar observed that it may be assigned to the late mediaeval period.

2. Dr. S. P. Singh read his paper entitled 'Coins from Dumri'. He discussed some coins including two gold issues of the Kalacuri king Gāṅgeyadeva found in the village of Dumri under the Masrakh Police Station in the Saran District of Bihar. These coins are now preserved in the Patna Museum. Dr. Singh said how the discovery of Gāṅgeyadeva's coins in Bihar points to the occupation of North Bihar by the Kalacuri king and how it has to be associated with the evidence of the colophon of a Nepalese Ms. of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which mentions Gāṅgeyadeva as ruling over Tīrabhukti (modern Tirhut in North Bihar) in the year 1076 apparently of the Vikrama era and corresponding to 1019 A.D.

Prof. Sircar observed that Gāṅgeyadeva of the *Rāmāyaṇa* manuscript should no doubt be identified with the Kalacuri king of that name, though there are some scholars who have offered other suggestions. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee did not agree with the view that the Sarnath inscription of the time of Mahīpāla I indicates Pāla rule in the Varanasi region. Prof. Sircar, however, pointed out that although the rulers of ancient India sometimes sent their representatives to holy places for making pilgrimage on their behalf, the Sarnath inscription suggests Mahīpāla I's temporary hold over Varanasi, because it records the pious building activities of the king and his two brothers Stīrapāla and Vasantapāla without any reference to any local ruler and such building activities, which must have taken some time, could hardly have been completed without the knowledge of the local officers. Prof. Sircar did not believe such activities possible if the said local officers were servants of the hostile Kalacuri king Gāṅgeyadeva. He also pointed out that the extensive issue of gold coins by Gāṅgeyadeva flooded the market so that his immediate successors had no necessity of issuing any coins at all. He also drew attention, in this connection, to the fact that many early Indian kings and ruling families did not issue any coins.

3. Prof. D. C. Sircar read his paper entitled 'A Pāla Inscription from the Birbhum District of West Bengal'. He pointed out how Sri Siddheswar Mukhopadhyay, Asst. Teacher of the Albandha High School, near Bolpur in the Birbhum District, discovered two inscribed stone slabs in an old Dargah bearing the name of Maḥmūd Shāh Jalāl at Shāhjāpur in the village of

Siyān in the vicinity of Bolpur and sent a photograph of the better preserved of the two records to Prof. Sircar for examination. Reading the words *Cedi-ṇṣpateḥ Karṇasya jivā bhāṇ*, 'having defeated the forces of the Cedi king Karṇa', in the said photograph, Prof. Sircar realised that the reference is to the defeat of Kalacuri Karṇa (1041-71 A.D.) of Tripurī (near Jabalpur), who was the son of Gaṅgeya, at the hands of the Pāla king Nayapāla and his son Vighrahapāla III in the Birbhum region itself where we have Karṇa's inscription at Paikore. In his attempt to get inked impressions of the inscriptions, Prof. Sircar received an estampage of the same record from the Archaeological Survey of India (E.C.) and later one impression each of the two inscriptions from Dr. D. R. Das. On an examination, Prof. Sircar found that a big slab of stone bearing an inscription of the eleventh century A. D. was cut in the middle to utilise the two slabs to incise two inscriptions in Arabic characters probably relating to the Dargah. The old inscription mentions the Pāla king Dharmapāla and his descendant Nayapāla and the king of the Suhma or Rāḍhā country, who must have been the Pāla king's feudatory. It then records the construction of a large number of Śiva temples and Śaivite images, though mention is also made of other Brāhmanical gods and goddesses and of some holy places outside Bengal. Prof. Sircar deplored the damaged nature of the writing and pointed out that this is the only *praiastī* on stone ever discovered in West Bengal and it is even bigger than the Deopādā *praiastī* of Vijayasena.

In reply to a question of Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, Prof. Sircar observed that the Siyān inscription is not an official record of the Pāla king so that the claim of a victory over Karṇa seems to contain no exaggeration. It seems that the ruler of Suhma participated in the struggle and the local population knew the results of the conflict.

Regarding the position of Paikore where an inscription of Karṇa has been found, Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay pointed out that it is near Rampurhat not far from the borders of the Santal Parganas District.

[The paper has been published above, pp. 39ff., cf. 177-78.]

LXVII

Thursday, the 22nd March, 1973

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Sri T. N. Chakraborty, M.A.; Dr S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A, LL.B., D. Phil. ; Pandit R. K. Bhattacharya, M. A. ; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M. A., D.Phil. ; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil. ; Dr. S. P. Singh, M. A., D.Phil. ; Dr. Sm. J. Maitra, M. A., Ph.D. ; Sri R. K. Billorey, M. A. ; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A.; Sri C. Jeeva Dhas, M. A. ; Sri S. Chatterjee, M.A.; Sm. K. Ray, M.A.; Sm. S. P. Mondal, M.A.; Sri M. S. Mohana Nehru, M.A.; Dr. M. Mukhopadhyay, M.A., Ph.D.; and others.

Proceedings : Sri R. K. Billorey read his paper entitled 'Brāhmapical Images in Indochina', in which he referred to the images of Śiva, Umā, Lakṣmī and Viṣṇu discovered in different parts of Indochina. While he did not deny the influence of Indian art tradition on some of the early works of Indochinese art, he pointed out that, as early as the 7th century A.D., Khmer craftsmen were free from the Indian models, and a local national formula was evolved and crystalised. Although the images were still governed by the fundamentals of Indian iconography, Sri Billorey observed, in treatment they differed from the Indian works of art.

Prof. D. C. Sircar pointed out that the gradual emergence of local characteristics in the art models originally taken from India to Indochina is well known. The same thing happened also in other areas where Indian art traditions spread along with Indian culture. Indeed, such regional difference is noticed even in the medieval images of the same gods and goddesses in North and South India. Dr. S. K. Mitra also said that regional varieties were quite natural in the works of different areas.

2. Dr. S. P. Singh exhibited some beautiful specimens of NBP Ware, and some punch-marked and bent bar coins of copper and silver and copper cast coins collected from a hoard discovered at the village of Kinjar (Gayā District) near the river Punpun in Bihār. He also exhibited an interesting terracotta Nāga figure from the same site.

Prof. D. C. Sircar wanted to know whether the pieces of NBP Ware belong to the jar which contained the coin-hoard. Dr. S. P. Singh answered in the negative. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay asked whether any coin of the hoard bears legends. Prof. Sircar replied that none of the coins exhibited by Dr. Singh bears any legend. Sm. K. Roy wanted to know whether there was any symbol to prove that the exhibited bent-bar pieces were really coins. Dr. Singh observed that the pieces were the specimens of bent-bar coins of smaller denominations. Prof. Sircar advised Dr. Singh to prepare a note on this subject.

3. Prof. D. C. Sircar described the iconographic features of Mahāgaṇapati, Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa as indicated by the *dhyānas* quoted in the *Tantrasāra*. He pointed out how the photograph of Mahāgaṇapati exhibited by Sri R. K. Billorey at the Monthly Seminar on 22.2.73 holds noose, mace, bow, discus, conch-shell, lotus, water-vessel and sweets while the *dhyāna* of the god as quoted now represents him as holding pomegranate, mace, bow, trident, discus, red lotus, blue lotus, a bundle of paddy sheaves, elephant's tusk and a jar of gems. Prof. Sircar also quoted a number of *dhyānas* of the god Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa in order to show that the complexion of the god is described sometimes as red or bright but sometimes as dark or black, and

pointed out how this confusion was due to the identification of the red- or bright-complexioned Viṣṇu with the dark-complexioned Kṛṣṇa.

Dr. Sm. M. Mukhopadhyay observed that the *Gīṭā* compares Kṛṣṇa's complexion with that of the rising sun. Dr. S. Bandhyopadhyay asked the meaning of *kalāya* in the god's description as *kalāya-kusuma-tyāma*, and Prof. Sircar replied that it is called *maṭar-kalāi* or *maṭar-ṣuṇṣi* in Bengali and has flowers of dark blue or blue-black colour. When Prof. Sircar quoted *dhyānas* representing Kṛṣṇa as gold-coloured like the autumnal moon, Drs. Sm. K. Saha, Sm. J. Maitra and Sm. M. Mukhopadhyay said that the autumnal moon is rather white in colour. On hearing the *dhyāna* comparing the complexion of child Kṛṣṇa with the red colour of *nava-bandhūka*, Dr. S. Bandhyopadhyay said that Kṛṣṇa was red in his childhood, but became black when grown up, just as the red *bandhūka* becomes black when it dries up. Prof. Sircar said that the verse intends to compare child Kṛṣṇa's complexion with the red colour of the fresh *bandhūka* flower and *sindūra* (vermilion), but not with dried up *bandhūka*. Dr. Sm. M. Mukhopadhyay observed that here the word *sindūra* may have been used in the sense of 'red'. But Prof. Sircar did not agree with her. He pointed out that the complexion of the child and youthful Kṛṣṇa is sometimes described as resembling the colour of *sindūra* and *nava-bandhūka* probably because of his identification with Viṣṇu.

LXVIII

Thursday, the 19th April, 1973

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. (in the chair) ; Sri T. N. Chakraborty, M. A. ; Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M. A., Ph. D. ; Pandit R. K. Bhattacharya, M. A. ; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M. A., Ph. D. ; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M. A., Ph. D. ; Dr. A. K. Bhattacharya, M. A., Ph. D. ; Dr. S. P. Singh, M. A., Ph. D. ; Dr. Sm. R. Chatterjee, M. A., Ph. D. ; Dr. J. R. Haldar, M. A., Ph. D. ; Dr. Sm. J. Maitra, M. A., Ph. D. ; Sm. B. Chatterjee, M. A. ; Sri R. K. Billorey, M. A. ; Sri A. Prasad, M. A. ; Sri S. Bandhyopadhyay, M. A. ; Sri S. Chatterjee, M. A. ; Sm. K. Roy, M. A. ; Sm. S. P. Mondal, M. A. ; Sri M. S. Mohana Nehru, M. A. ; Sm. M. Sengupta, M. A. ; and others.

Proceedings : Dr. A. K. Chatterjee read a paper entitled 'Some Observations on the *Bṛhatkathākośa* of Hariṣeṇa' in which he attempted a survey of this Jain work composed in 931 A. D. (given in both the Śaka and Vikrama eras) during the reign of the Pratihāra monarch Vināyaka-pāla. According to Dr. Chatterjee, the author had knowledge of Brāhmaṇical works including the now-lost *Bṛhatkathā* by Guṇāḍhya while some of his stories are based on early Jain Ārādhana works. Hariṣeṇa refers to the Āditya-bhavana

at Mūlasthāna and to the popularity of Jainism in Mathurā. According to Dr. Chatterjee, the work throws welcome light on the religious and social life of India during the 10th century.

Dr A. K. Bhattacharya wanted to know the location of Vardhamāna and Dr. Chatterjee and Prof. Sircar pointed out that it is in Gujarat. Prof. Sircar said that there were different Vardhamānas and that, while there was one Kauśāmbī in U. P., more places of the same name existed in Bengal. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay drew attention to Dr. Chatterjee's omission of the reference to the Kāyastha community in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*. Dr. Chatterjee replied that he mentioned Kāyastha in it as an official designation. Prof. Sircar observed that the mention of a date in both Śaka and Vikrama eras was a mere fashion and has little to do with Hariṣeṇa's historical sense. He also observed that there may have been different *Pañcastūpas* in different localities. Prof. Sircar doubted the reliability of Hariṣeṇa because he has located Mūlasthāna in the Maru though Mūlasthāna is modern Multan near the Chenab in the West Punjab and Maru is modern Marwar or the deserts of Rajasthan and Sind. According to Prof. Sircar, Hariṣeṇa's location of Rāmagiri (located at Ramtek near Nagpur in an inscription of Yādava Rāmachandra's time) is equally dubious.

3. Sri P. Ray then read a paper written by Sri V. Chowdhury and himself on an unpublished copper coin of the Ahom king Vrajanāthasīrha of Assam. The writers pointed out that the coin (11 grammes or 169½ grains) demonstrates such interesting features as the mention of the Mughul emperor Shāh 'Alam (called *Bahādur*) long after his death in imitation of the coins of the East India Company and the legend in the Sanskrit and Persian languages as well as the Persian and Bengali scripts.

Prof. Sircar observed that the Persian legend may have been meant either for wooing the Indo-British Government by the king whose position on the throne was precarious, or for a wider market as in the case of the kings of Nepal. The expression *paṇa-mūlya* on another copper coin (5½ grammes or 85½ grains, i.e. about 50 Ratis) of the same king probably suggests an equivalent of one Anna often mentioned as *Paṇa*. [See above, pp. 126ff.]

4. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay read a paper entitled 'Early Foreigners on Settlement of Marriage and Marriageable Age in India'. Dr. Bandyopadhyay noted that, according to Strabo and Diodorus, the Indian bride and bridegroom used to choose each other. Diodorus also refers to the fact that sometimes marriages were settled by persons of immature age so that the choice was unwise and the union unhappy. According to a statement attributed to Megasthenes by Phlegon, the women of the Pandian realm bore children at the age of six. Arrian also refers to this fact. In the eleventh century A. D., Al-Bīrūnī states that the Hindus marry at a very

young age and that the marriage is settled by the parents of the couple. Elsewhere Al-Birūnī states that a Brāhmaṇa was forbidden to marry a girl more than twelve years old.

Pandit R. K. Bhattacharya observed that, in the Vedic age, girls generally were sufficiently aged at the time of marriage, though, according to Manu, they were generally married in young age. He pointed out that, according to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Sītā was only six years old at the time of her *svayamvara* and that the case of Draupadī of the *Mahābhārata* was similar. The parents had to get their daughters married before they were 12 and, when a girl reached that age, she could herself choose her husband. Dr. Bandyopadhyay said that he had confined himself more or less to foreign sources and that Pandit Bhattacharya's points are all quite well known. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee observed that, at the time of her *svayamvara*, Draupadī was not immature because she refused to marry Karna. Prof. Sircar pointed out that the *Rāmāyaṇa* passage mentioning Sītā's marriage at six years of age is spurious while Draupadī's refusal of Karna may have been a tutored objection even though she may have been more than six years of age at the time. Prof. Sircar further observed that different customs were prevalent in different parts of India and that the notices of indigenous and foreign authors may refer to customs of particular regions. He referred to the Gominī story of the *Daśakumāracarita* speaking of a young man of 18 selecting his own bride and of the selected bride having fully developed breasts.

5. Sri R. K. Billorey read a paper on 'A Rain-making Ceremony in Nimār and its Parallels Elsewhere'. Sri Billorey mentioned how he had occasion to observe such a ceremony at the village of Bhojākhedi in the Nimār District, M. P. A procession of children singing rain songs went from house to house. It was led by a boy (called Brother Frog) or a girl (called Mother Frog) clad with mango leaves. The girl sometimes carried a clay doll over her head. At every house they were drenched with water and received rice, flour, pulses, etc., and afterwards enjoyed a grand feast. Sri Billorey pointed out that certain features in this ceremony, i.e. carrying some symbol of rain or fertility associated with it, pouring of water and giving presents to the boys going around the village singing rain songs, were widely known.

Prof. Sircar observed that this sort of ceremony was prevalent not only all over India, but possibly all over the world, so that an elaborate study of the subject is necessary. Sri Billorey said that he had referred in the unread part of his paper to similar rain-making ceremonies in various parts of India as well as in other countries.

6. Prof. Sircar read his note entitled 'Identification of Similarly-sounding Names.' He recalled how once he wrote on identical geographical names in

different countries. In the present note, he dealt with the deceptive nature of the similarity between the sounds of two names. Thus he said that when the *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, was being prepared under the auspices of the University of Dacca, its editor wanted to know from the Government Epigraphist for India whether 'Gauḍī' found in Kannaḍa records can be associated with the Gauḍa people. Kannaḍa 'Gauḍa' is, however, derived from Sanskrit *grāmakūṭa* (village headman) through intermediate forms like *gāvuḍa* or *gāvuṇḍa*, etc. Prof. Sircar also pointed out how he was asked by a historian of Tamilnadu whether the name of the Āḷvār Śaḍagopa can be related to the Bengali caste name 'Sadgop'. There is, however, no relation between the two because 'Śaḍagopa' is the Tamil pronunciation of Sanskrit *S'athakopa* (one who is angry with the crooked people) while 'Sadgop' is really *Sad-gopa* meaning 'good milkmen', i.e., milkmen who have adopted the profession of agriculturists.

Sri R. K. Billorey pointed out that the case of the similarly sounded 'the wall' in English and *dīvāl* in Hindi and other Indian languages is similar to 'Laṅkā and Lanca[shire]' as well as 'very bad' (English) and *bhāri bad* (Bengali) cited by Prof. Sircar in this connection.

LXIX

Thursday, the 10th May, 1973

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D. (in the chair); Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M. A., Ph. D.; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M. A., Ph. D.; Dr. A. K. Bhattacharya, M. A. Ph. D.; Dr. Sm. R. Chatterjee, M. A., Ph. D.; Dr. J. R. Haldar, M. A., Ph. D.; Sm. B. Chatterjee, M. A.; Sri R. K. Billorey, M. A.; Sm. A. Banerji, M. A.; Sri S. Chatterjee, M. A.; Sm. K. Roy, M. A.; Sm. S. P. Mondal, M. A.; Sri M. S. Mohana Nehru, M. A.; and others.

Proceedings : Sm. K. Bajpeyi read a note entitled 'The Eras in the Early Inscriptions of Mathurā' in which she pointed out that some of the inscriptions discovered at Mathurā are dated in eras, and that the eras used in these records are four, viz. the Parthian era of 248-247 B. C., the Scytho-Parthian or Vikrama era of 58 B. C., the Kaniṣka or Śaka era of 78 A.D. and the Gupta era of 319 A.D.

Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that there are various theories regarding the commencement of some of the reckonings discussed by Sm. Bajpeyi, following the views expressed in his *Indian Epigraphy*, as there are controversies about the Scytho-Parthian era and also regarding the identification of the Kaniṣka and Śaka eras and the date of Kaniṣka's accession. The important thing is that the use of era was introduced and popularised in India by the foreigners. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee said that Āryabhaṭa men-

tioned the Kaliyuga era in the last quarter of the fifth century A. D. for the first time; but the era must have been an old one. But Prof. Sircar emphasised the fact that there is no mention or use of the Kaliyuga era in any record earlier than the fifth century A. D. There is likewise no evidence of the use of the Parinirvāṇa eras of the Buddhists and Jains in very early records. Prof. Sircar particularly drew attention to the Buddhist king Aśoka and the Jain king Khāravela who used their regnal reckoning, but no era in their official records.

2. Dr. A. K. Bhattacharya read a note on the interpretation of the word *śyāma*. He came to the conclusion that the word generally denotes dark colour. Prof. Sircar pointed out that *śyāma* means black and green and various shades between the two colours as well as blue, because in literary and epigraphic records the colour of *ataśi* and *kalāya* flowers, dark clouds, smoke, the blue lotus, *durvā* grass (especially at its young stage), cloudless sky and the *tamāla* tree is called *śyāma*. He also drew attention to the description of Mahiṣamardini as *gāruḍ-opala-sannibhā*, 'blue like emerald', as well as to the conventional explanation of *śyāmā* as *tapta-kāñcana-varṇābhā* or the colour of heated gold, probably meaning a very light shade.

Dr. A. K. Bhattacharya observed that, when gold is heated, it assumes a bluish tinge. Sm. B. Chatterjee pointed out that the word *śyāmā* is different from *śyāma* according to two verses quoted in Mahimasiṃhagaṇin's commentary on the *Meghadūta*. Prof. Sircar, however, observed that Kālidāsa's own use of the word *śyāma* in the sense of black or blue-black is more important. [Cf. the *Meghadūta* passages—*śyāmāṃ vapur.....Gopaveśasya Viṣṇoḥ* (I. 15) and *pariṇata-phala-śyāma-jambu-van-āntāḥ* (I. 23). —Ed.] He thought that Kālidāsa apparently used *śyāmā* as the feminine form of *śyāma*. The goddess Śyāmā is called *dhūmra-varṇā* (smoke-coloured) though she is black or blue-black to us and green to the Chinese and Tibetans. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee pointed out that, in the *Mahābhārata*, Arjuna is *śyāma-varṇa* and, since he was dark like Kṛṣṇa, *śyāma* means 'black'. Sm. B. Chatterjee remarked that in Sanskrit 'blue' is often identified with 'black'.

3. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee then read his paper entitled 'Indra Festival in Ancient India'. He said that we find references to the Indra festival centuries before the beginning of the Christian era, but that Vaiṣṇavism gave a blow to the Indra cult. In the *Harivaṃśa* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Kṛṣṇa advised the Gopas to worship *dharitri*, *gābhī* and himself instead of Indra. Despite such attempts, the Indra festival, which had been introduced by Uparicara Vasu, continued to flourish. The *Indra-dvādaśī* is referred to in the *Rājatarāṅgi* of Kalhaṇa. Jain texts also refer to it. The Indra cult enjoyed popularity at least up to the 15th or 16th century A. D. Prof. Sircar observed that there is no dispute regarding the fact that Indra-

dhvajās were raised and that Indra festival was celebrated, though it is not certain that there was widespread antagonism between Vaiṣṇavism and the Indra festival. The story of Govardhana-dhāraṇa does not really suggest any such idea.

4. Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay read a paper entitled 'Foreigners on Polygamy and Polyandry in Ancient India'. He said that the indigenous literary evidence regarding Indian polygamy is corroborated by foreign accounts like the observations of Megasthenes quoted by Strabo. Al-Bīrūnī says that, in his time, polyandry was not prevalent in Indian society. Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya observed that polyandry is common among the Nayars of Kerala. Prof. Sircar pointed out that the Nayars have given up the practice though it lingers in the Himalayan region. Dr. A. K. Chatterjee said that the epic poets' attitude to Draupadī's marriage shows that polyandry had no root in the Aryan society. Prof. Sircar observed that the Pāṇḍavas' observance could have well been of Mongoloid origin. [As opposed to *polyandry*, *polygyny* is a more suitable word than *polygamy*.—Ed.]

5. Prof. D. C. Sircar read two notes entitled 'A Brāhmī Inscription from Central Asia' and 'Contribution of Uttarāpatha to the Development of the Gaṇapati Cult'. In the first of the two notes, Prof. Sircar discussed how Dr. S. P. Gupta of the National Museum, New Delhi, wanted his reading and interpretation of a single line writing on a piece of silk published by Stein in his *Serindia* (Vol. IV, Pl. XXXIX—T.XV. a. iii. $\frac{7}{8}$; cf. Vol. II, pp. 701 ff.) and how he wanted to tackle the record without being influenced by what had been said about it. Prof. Sircar was inclined to assign the document to about the fifth century A. D. on palaeographical grounds and read it as [*S'īrasva*]-*syapaṭ-ādhiṣṭhi(ṭa*)-Saparitha*, "Saparitha who was installed in the garment of Śīrasva." Afterwards he noted that Boyer had deciphered the record as [*Al*]*ṣṭasya paṭa giṣṭi ṣaparīṣa*, i.e., Aṣṭa's silk cloth measuring 56 *giṣṭis* (spans), and that it was assigned to the period between 61 B. C. and 9 A. D., which was associated with the Central Asian silk trade. Prof. Sircar admitted that the said reading and interpretation would at once appeal to one's common sense ; but he noticed a few difficulties. In the first place, the type of subscript in *syapaṭ*, lengthened upwards to the right of *sa*, is not expected at such an early date. Secondly, *ṣṭa* in *Aṣṭasya* is quite different from its form in *giṣṭi*, and what has been read as *giṣṭi* is clearly *dhiṣṭhi*. Thirdly, *al* is an obvious misreading while the lower ends of *ṣa*, read at the end of the record, are never so close or touching each other. That the document is not earlier than the Gupta age is suggested by the *akṣara dha*.

6. In the second note, Prof. Sircar drew attention to the facts that Gaṇeśa is regarded by scholars as introduced in the Brāhmaṇical

pantheon about the fourth century A. D. when the latest sections of the *Mahābhārata* were composed while, among the few early images of the god discovered in Uttarāpatha, the four-armed *ūrdhva-meḍhra* form found at Sakar Dhar (10 miles north of Kabul) and now worshipped by the local Hindus at Narsingdwara in Shore Bazar, Kabul, has been assigned to the fourth century A. D. itself (*East and West*, Vol. 18, 1968, pp. 166 ff.). This seems to suggest the popularity of Gaṇeśa in Uttarāpatha about the time of its introduction in Brāhmanical mythology and points to Uttarāpatha's contribution to the development of the Gaṇeśa cult.

Dr. A. K. Chatterjee said that Getty mentions a figure of Gaṇeśa from China, which is assigned to the sixth century A. D.

among themselves, they laid down the basis of modern agricultural India and provided a secure background of the beginning of iron and the subsequent growth of early historic cities.

The author's preliminary reference to the post-Harappan neolithic-chalcolithic communities is followed up by a general picture of the Aryan stabilisation as reflected in the later Vedas. One wishes he could explain what he means by 'the Aryan factor in Indian civilisation' and how this helps a better understanding of the genesis of early historical cities. To some of us, this may not be quite relevant to the present context.

The Aryans are also present in the subsequent discussion on the beginning of iron. One feels rather tired with the author's attempt to equate the Aryans to some ceramic horizons; but so far as the impact of the beginning of iron in the Gangetic valley is concerned, he makes an important point. The socio-economic impact of iron was slow and the role of iron in an effective jungle-clearance in the Doab has perhaps been over-emphasized. The agriculturists represented by the ochre-coloured pottery and the black-and-red ware colonised the Doab without any iron tool. In the middle Gangetic Valley, the chalcolithic settlements are abundant enough to suggest that, even without iron, the valley could be penetrated. In suitable areas fire could be a good medium of jungle-clearance, particularly during the hot, dry months of the year. It should be admitted, however, that the introduction of iron hastened up the process. Sometime during this period, territorial units like the *janapadas* were being formed, though archaeology, for obvious reasons, is silent on this point. In the south, the beginning of iron-technology did not lead to anything more monumental than megaliths, thus giving the area 'a later start in urban development than the north'. In the north, the elements of early historic society are clear and among them, the cities loom large, both in archaeology and literature. The limitations of both kinds of source-material have been briefly analysed.

Chapter II deals with theories on pre-industrial urbanism and the applicability of some of them in the early historic Indian context. After a brief note on the distinguishing features of a city, the author tries to emphasize that the surplus necessary for the maintenance of urban non-agriculturists was not a technical but a social product. Regarding the priority of role between the ruler and the merchant in the establishment of a city, his idea is that the two went together, each fulfilling its function in the urban framework. This is perfectly true; but if any priority is to be established, the ruler should get the credit because he happens to symbolise a power-structure very much necessary for the maintenance of any economic system represented by the merchants. The ten abstract criteria laid down by Childe are found to conform to the data on early historic Indian cities with some

exceptions, notably in the fields of art, foreign trade and general civic bond. The pattern of land-use is admittedly vague; but the three patterns suggested by Sjöberg for preindustrial cities in general may be applicable in this case also.

In the first few sections of Chapter III, there is discussion on the settlement-units of the *janapada*, *mahajanapada* and *grāma*. No generalisation has been possible; but the location of early historic settlements is supposed to have only partially conformed to Redfield's pattern of rural-urban continuum. There is also an attempt to compare the early pattern of settlement with that of contemporary India. The settlement-types recognized in the modern census-operations (hamlet, village, town, market-town, industrial town, city) compare well, with some modifications, with the early units of village, town, market-town and city. The idea that towns were little more than oversized villages has been rightly criticised because the political and economic functions of the two were different.

Chapter IV discusses the city in literature. It is pointed out in the beginning that the naming of the cities as described in literature is mostly mythical and hardly reflects any reality. Considering the different names for different types of urban and semi-urban settlements, it is surprising that the general literary description of city should be so conventional. Certain physical components like gateways, city-walls, moats, markets, palaces, etc., are recurrently mentioned; but that is almost all. The physical magnitude is invariably exaggerated. In this context the author could have utilised the testimony of the Sangam literature which in its vivid, rich urban images stands out from the general category of Indian literature. There was perhaps a system of urban administration, though Megasthenes, as the author states, could have been wrong in his estimate of the magnitude of the Pāṭaliputra civic organisation. Though Brāhmanical religious texts clearly discouraged residence in cities, there was an urban consciousness among the city-dwellers, which normally made them feel superior to the villagers. With some exceptions the cities do not figure much as centres of education and pilgrimage. An important point is that no early historic Indian city came to develop as a centre of pilgrimage. [Cf. Mathurā, Ujjayinī, etc.—Ed.]

The mode of treatment of archaeological evidence in Chapter V is that each of Childe's ten urban criteria (with one exception, i.e., naturalistic art) has been discussed with reference to relevant excavated sites. A date not earlier than 600 B. C. has been justifiably thought appropriate for the fortifications at Ujjayinī, Kausāmbī and Rājghat. Not all the cities came to be fortified as soon as they were established. Monumental buildings were noticeably scarce.

Chapter VI is titled 'Survival? Revival? Import?' and basically

aims at discounting any Harappan or possible foreign influence on the growth of early historic cities. The attempt has led the author through the maze of post-Harappan archaeology and it has also made him take a look at Achaemenid Persia and contemporary Central Asia. The entire exercise has been to some extent pointless because it is doubtful if anybody with any reason could postulate a link between the Harappan and early urban traditions or claim an Achaemenid or Central Asian origin for early historical Indian cities. However, the author's comments on the probable survival of some Harappan cultural elements in later Indian society deserve careful reading and so does his Chapter VII or conclusion.

It may not be logical to expect everything about the early historical cities in a brief volume of this kind ; but it should be fair to add that an inordinate attention has perhaps been paid to the examination of early data in the light of some modern sociological theories. In most cases, this has not led to anything specific or revealing. A better idea of historical reality might be obtained by putting forward the archaeological and significant literary data zone by zone and then analysing the emergent pattern.

Dilip K. Chakrabarti

Editorial Note. In this brilliant small work, there are some statements which appear to be inaccurate or with which we are inclined to disagree. The learned author's attention may be drawn to such points so that he may consider them in the future edition. To say that there is no word of non-Sanskritic affiliation in Aśoka records (p. 4) is not correct because *dipti* (Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra) and *nipista*, etc. (Shahbazgarhi) are Persian. It is likewise wrong to say that Aśoka mentions only 'peoples' as his southern neighbours (p. 12) since, side by side with 'the Colas' and 'the Pāṇḍyas', RE II mentions 'Keralaputra' and 'Sātiyaputra' (both in the singular) indicating the king respectively of the Keralas and Sātiyas (cf. king *Kerobothra* of the *Periplus* and Ptolemy's *Geography*). It is not the whole truth that Aśoka discouraged *samāja* (p. 56) because RE I says that one kind of *samāja* was approved by the Maurya emperor. Among later kings, Khāvela and Gautamīputra Śātakarni are known to have often entertained their subjects by sponsoring *samājas*. Instead of taking Adarśa as the Aravallis (p. 57), we interpret it as 'the people of Adarśa (the same as Adarśana)'. How and why the Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī scripts were invented or adopted has been regarded as impossible to determine (p. 27) ; but it seems to be accepted by scholars that Kharoṣṭhī developed in the Gandhāra-Sindhu region in an attempt to write the Indian language in the Aramaic script introduced there during Achaemenian rule (6th to 4th century B. C.). If in 'the sixteen Mahājānapadas' the number 'sixteen' had any conventional importance (p.

35), can we expect more names in the list even if there were other equally important states? We have no doubt that there were numerous states including some big ones in all parts of India in the sixth century B. C. There are very few misprints in the book, e.g., *Kaśī* (p. 58, note 80) for *Kaśi*. In the discussion on agriculture at p. 7, the importance of wooden plough seems to have been ignored, though its use is not forgotten in India even in the present age.

Besides, we have difference of opinion with the learned author on a few fundamental points. Townships (in some cases gradually grown into cities in course of time) appear to have developed around forts, centres of trade activity and pilgrim spots among others. That the pre-Aryans had forts and were traders is known from the *Rgveda* while cities associated with pre-Vedic Indian civilization are now well known. That the conception of *tirthas* was a Nonaryan contribution seems to be indicated by facts including the existence of pilgrim spots in Nonaryan territories which the Aryans were advised not to visit except for pilgrimage: *Aṅga-Vaṅga-Kaṭhgeṣu Saurāṣṭra-Magadheṣu ca/ tirtha-yātrām vinā gacchan punaḥsaṁkāram=arhatt*. // In our opinion, it is not possible to believe that city life began to develop in North India alone about the sixth century B. C. under Aryan inspiration. We have little doubt that there were earlier cities in different parts of India including the South often associated with Nonaryan enterprise. As a matter of fact, during the sixth century B. C., the social and cultural life of the Indian people was characterised by the admixture of Aryan and Nonaryan ideas, so that there could hardly have then been the development of cities on purely Aryan principles. None of the cities (some of them mere townships) mentioned in the book could have been purely Aryan-inspired. The map and the section on cities in literature in the book appear to us rather inadequate. We do not understand why places like Eran and Ujjain have not been mentioned in the map under their ancient forms. We also fail to understand why, if even Eran has a place on the map, why Indraprastha, Māhiṣmatī, Puṇḍranagara, Girinagara, Tosali, Śamāpā, Suvarṇagiri, Paudanya, Virāṭangara, Kuṇḍinapura, Kānyakubja, Kekaya-Girivraja, Pratiṣṭhāna, Dakṣiṇa-Mathurā, etc., have been omitted.

LXXX

VAIŚĀLI EXCAVATIONS (1958-62) by B.P. Sinha and Sita Ram Roy, published by the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Bihar, Patna, 1969, pages 206 with 98 plates, 57 line drawings, and one map; price Rs. 60.00.

Situated about 22 miles to the west of Muzaffarpur, the old ruins of Stūpas, buildings and tanks at Basāḍh (ancient Vaiśālī) and the Mauryan

pillar at Kolhuā (ancient Kollāga) have attracted the attention of antiquarians since the second quarter of the 19th century, and a rich treasure of historical material was dug out by Cunningham, Bloch, Spooner and Krishna-deva from the mound called Rājā Viśāl Kā Gaḍh and other sites in the locality.

The work under review embodies the report of the results of excavations carried out by Dr. Sita Ram Roy of the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, under the supervision of the late Prof. A. S. Altekar at the sites such as Rājā Viśāl Kā Gaḍh, the so-called Buddha-relic Stūpa, the Kharaunā Pokhar (tank), the Aśokan pillar area, Bhimsen Kā Pallā, the Caturmukh Mahādev temple area, the Marpasaunā mound and various other habitational sites spread in a radius of more than four or five miles located in the villages of Baṣāḍh, Baniyā, Cakrāmdās, Lālpurā, Kolhuā and Viṛpur. The present reviewer worked in the Vaiśālī excavations for three seasons, and several trenches in the central part of Rājā Viśāl Kā Gaḍh, Kharaunā Pokhar and the area to the east of Ruksoiyā tank were dug under his supervision.

The report is divided into eight chapters. Chapter I contains a brief notice of the history of Vaiśālī and an account of the previous excavations. Chapters II, III, IV and V are devoted respectively to 'Stratigraphy and Cuttings', 'Pottery', 'Seals, Sealings and Tokens', and 'Coins'. Chapter IV deals with 'Terracotta Figurines', Chapter VII with 'Beads, Pendants, Earlobes and Bangles' and Chapter VIII with 'Miscellaneous Objects'.

The cultural sequence of the sites has been divided into five periods. Period I, dated to pre-NBP times or earlier than c. 600 B. C., is characterised by absence of structures and occurrence of coarse black-and-red and grey and fragile pale-red potteries. Period II exhibiting NBP Ware has been placed between 600 and 200 B. C. The discovery of a few sherds of Painted Grey Ware associated with the NBP Ware from Period II seems to suggest the existence of the Painted Grey Ware culture at Vaiśālī. Unfortunately no pre-NBP deposit containing Painted Grey Ware was found. Period III is dated to c. 200 B. C. to 200 A. D., Period IV to c. 200 to 600 A. D. and Period V to later than 600 A. D.

The authors seem to accept the inclusion of Bihar in the Kuṣāṇa dominions and say that 'Vaiśālī like Magadha was probably conquered by the Kuṣāṇas' (p. 1). Strangely enough, at p. 133 of the work, they doubt the hold of the Kuṣāṇas over Vaiśālī. The speculation regarding the derivation of 'Kharaunā Pokhar' from 'Abhiṣeka-puṣkariṇī' through *Oeṣkh-pokhar* or *Sekh-pokhar* and of 'Kharaunī' or 'Kharaunā' from *puṣkariṇī* through *ukkhariṇī* (p. 3), is unconvincing. The discovery of the so-called Buddha-relic Stūpa (Plate VIII) is interesting from the architectural point of view; but its attribution to the Licchavis of Vaiśālī is doubtful. The small stone-

casket, said to have contained the relics of the Buddha, bears no inscription. Another mud Stūpa locally known as Bhīmsen Kā Pallā and yielding corporeal relics (Plate XVIII) along with copper utensils and a Black-and-red Ware dish and a Red Ware bowl (p. 6) has not been properly identified.

Continuous structural remains of the pre-Śuṅga, Śuṅga, Kuṣāṇa and Gupta periods were unearthed. The houses of the different periods were probably not storeyed, but were roofed with baked tiles. Some of the unearthed coins, seals and sealings add to our knowledge. The beautiful terracotta figurines (Plate XLIV) are important for the history of Indian art. The identification of the terracotta female figurines with Naigameśa (Plate LII) is wrong and the readings of the legends on the sealings Nos. 10, 32, 48, etc., are doubtful. [The reading and interpretation of No. 10 are particularly unfortunate.—Ed.]

The report under review suffers from a good deal of misprints and other defects. The name of a tank (Ruksoiya) is differently spelt as Ruksoniā (p. 4) and Ruksoiā (p. 36).

The printing and get up of the volume are nice. The line drawings are admirable; but the illustrations are poor, and there is no index to the volume. Despite the defects, we have no hesitation in recommending the report to the students of archaeology and early Indian history.

SARJUG PRASAD SINGH

LXXXI

SUN-WORSHIP IN ANCIENT INDIA by V. C. Srivastava, published by Indological Publications, Allahabad, 1972; pages 463 (including Bibliography, Index, etc.) with 30 plates; price Rs. 75.00.

The book under review has seven chapters and one Appendix. The first chapter entitled 'The Backdrop' summarises the occidental and Indian studies on Sun-worship in ancient India during the last 150 years. The second entitled 'The Beginning' deals with the Sun cult in prehistoric India. The third chapter, which is a long one, gives an exhaustive and critical survey of the worship of the god in the Vedic period. In the fourth chapter, the author has analysed the evidence of the two epics and in the fifth has discussed different traditions about the cult as told in our vast Purāṇic literature. The author has made in this connexion a critical study of the Persian form of Sun worship. The sixth chapter mainly deals with the iconographic aspect of the god in ancient India. Chapter VII entitled 'Epilogue' is actually the summary of the first six chapters. In the Appendix, the author probably as an afterthought, has added a section on the epigraphic evidence regarding Sun worship.

The Sun was worshipped as a deity not only by the Vedic Aryans, but

by other ancient peoples of the world. The Indo-Europeans had a special veneration for the Sun. Quite a number of prominent Vedic deities were really different aspects of Sūrya. Viṣṇu, who in the later period, became one of the most important gods of the Hindus, was at first conceived as one of the Ādityas. In the post-Christian period, the Indian Sun cult underwent a radical change with the introduction of the Iranian form of Sun worship. The Iranian priests came to be known in India as Maga-Brāhmaṇa, and if Ptolemy's evidence is to be believed, a good number of them penetrated as far south as Kerala before the middle of the second century A. D. But side by side with the Iranian type of Sun cult, indigenous Sun worship also was very much in vogue.

The chief merit of Dr. Srivastava's book lies in the fact that in one handy volume have been given nearly all the available data on Sun worship in ancient India. He has critically analysed almost all the available epic and Purāṇic texts dealing with the Sun cult. But the evidence of the Classical Sanskrit texts has more or less been ignored, and what is more, he has not analysed the evidence of non-Sanskrit and non-Hindu works, e.g., the texts of the Buddhists and Jains. But in spite of this limitation, Dr. Srivastava's book is a work containing the result of solid and painstaking research.

The printing and getup are upto the standard; the plates are also satisfactory.

ASIM KUMAR CHATTERJEE

Editorial Note. It is unfortunate that this interesting work is full of misprints while the index is unreliable. As regards the acceptance of Fleet's view that the name of the Śivaliṅga called Mihireśvara in the Nirmand copper-plate inscription exhibits an admixture of the cults of Sūrya and Śiva (p. 374), the learned authour should have noticed that, as in numerous other cases, Mihireśvara in this case was so named because the god was installed by the queen Mihiralakṣmī as has been pointed out (Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, 1965, p. 290, note 3; cf. another Mihireśvara installed by Mihirakula according to the *Rājatarahgiṇī*, I. 306). Although the Nirmand inscription does not prove an admixture of the Śaiva and Saura cults, the Mārtaṇḍabhairava form exhibits a combination of Śiva and Sūrya while Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa was often represented in Viṣṇu's place in the composite Trimūrti images of Gujarat, probably called Tripuruṣa in Western and Southern India (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 240 and note). Emphasis should have been laid on the interesting Bhilsa (Vidisha) *prāśasti* of the Sun-god composed in the eleventh century A. D. by *Mahākavīcakravartin* Chittapa at the request of *Daṇḍanāyaka* Candra. There is reference in Arab Muslim sources to the god Zīr whose image was made of gold with two rubies as eyes and who was worshipped by the polytheists (Hindus) of the present

Seistan area known to the Greeks as 'White India'. The name of the deity apparently stands for *Sūra* or *Sūrya*. For the destruction of the image, see Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 66, 71. Dr. Srivastava refers to Siṃharāja's grant 'to the Sun-temple named Rannāditya'. We know that the Thanwala inscription of Vikrama 1013 speaks of the grant of Siṃharāja's subordinate Durgarāja in favour of Rannāditya, the name of the god being associated with that of his wife Rannā as known from the popular mythology of Western India (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 245 ; cf. XXXII, p. 343).

LXXXII

McCRINDLE'S ANCIENT INDIA AS DESCRIBED BY MEGASTHENES AND ARRIAN, edited by Ramchandra Jain, published by Today and Tomorrow's Printers and Publishers, New Delhi, 1972 ; pp. 263 (including Index) ; price Rs. 50.00.

McCrindle's *Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, which is an English translation of the fragments of the *Indica* of Megasthenes and of the first part of the *Indica* of Arrian, is a well-known work and is almost invaluable for the light it throws upon the obscurity of early Indian history. As is known to all students of Indian history, the original account of Megasthenes is lost ; but some portions of it have been preserved in quotations to be found in the writings of various ancient Greek and Roman authors. These fragments were first collected by Schwanbeck of Bonn as early as 1846, and by arranging these detached fragments in their proper order, he reconstructed the lost text, though it was not very satisfactory for the very nature of the fragments themselves. McCrindle's English rendering of the *Indica* of Megasthenes on the basis of Schwanbeck's work was first published in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary* (1876-1877) and then as a separate book. [The book was reprinted in Calcutta in 1926.—Ed.] Before McCrindle, Schwanbeck's work was utilised by Bunbury in his two volumes on historical geography. A few years ago, R. C. Majumdar reproduced some portions of McCrindle's work in his *Classical Accounts of India*.

But a good edition of McCrindle's work is essentially needed, because in this intervening period of about hundred years since McCrindle's outstanding publication, some new facts have come to light. Secondly, McCrindle's translation is not free from defects and hence the task of editing such a work ought to have been undertaken by a well-equipped Greco-logist like Farrington or Thomson. In the advanced countries reprints of such works are entrusted to the editorship of scholars who are specialists in the subjects concerned and do not merely write an introduction. The editor has to examine the book critically, mark out the obsolete portions, correct all the errors of the former edition and give the results of all

subsequent researches on that subject so that the new edition adds something to our knowledge. In India, reprinting of old books, especially on Indology, has now become a profitable business, because the books sell well and the publishers, in most of the cases, have no responsibility of paying royalty to the successors of the deceased authors. A book-reviewer, however, need not poke his nose in the matters of business; but when samples of such unscrupulous business come to him for the purpose of review, he cannot but be indignant.

Editing of an old book is often more difficult than writing a new one, and keeping this in mind, especially in the Indian context, we should not expect a first class edition. But one should at least expect an edition like S. N. Majumdar Sastri's *McCrindle's Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy or Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India*. We have now the misfortune of seeing Cunningham's work reprinted with the exclusion of Majumdar Sastri's valuable notes [and introduction—Ed.].

The present book under review contains the name of an editor. It also contains a preface written by a different person in which it is stated that the introduction added in this volume is a novel experiment in oriental and historical research in a new perspective and with a new methodology. So far as this reviewer has understood, the editor has a theory that the Aryans who occupied India about 1000 B.C. were the materialistic Brahmaryans (?) while the vanquished Nonaryans were the spiritualistic Bharatiyans (?) and that the Brāhmaṇa ethnic group (?) came out subsequently as a synthesis of the two. But what has this fanciful theory to do with the account of Megasthenes? The editor says that the two mutually exclusive and distinct philosophies—Shramanism and Brahmanism—flourished under the leadership of Dandamis and Kalanos. Unfortunately the reviewer has not understood the significance of such a formulation. There are many other 'new theories' of the editor, e.g., Taprobane, identified with Ceylon, is supposed to have been between two streams of the Indus; the Pandian region was in Turkestan, and so on. But it is better to stop here.

N. N. BHATTACHARYA

LXXXIII

LAKSHMINATH BEZBAROA, THE SĀHITYARATHI OF ASSAM, edited by Maheswar Neog, published by Gauhati University, 1972; pages 272 with some plates; price Rs. 18.00.

Prof. S. K. Chatterji has rightly observed (p. 6). "The intellectual atmosphere and the cultural *milieu* which gave to Bengal and India the giants of Bengali literature during the second half of the last century also gave to Assam its greatest personality in modern Assamese literature in all its various

aspects, namely, Lakshminath Bezbaroa. Lakshminath was thus an illustrious son of India, and a member of the galaxy of great men and women who raised high the name of India during the last century. Lakshminath Bezbaroa has been given by the *literati* of Assam the sobriquet of *Sāhityarathi*, an epithet which is rather in the epic and heroic vein like the heroes of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Iliad*."

The Gauhati University celebrated the birth centenary (1864-1938) of Lakshminath Bezbaroa, and the Celebration Committee decided to bring out a volume of studies on Bezbaroa. The present volume is the outcome of that decision. It has been edited by Professor Maheswar Neog whose contribution to popularise Assamese literature in recent times is well known. The volume is nicely edited although the editor says in his preface that he expected to offer a more elaborate fare, but that many of the writers to whom the request for papers were sent could not comply because of their individual preoccupations. Nevertheless, the present volume has served its purpose.

The contributors to this volume are Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Lalit Kumar Barua, Bhaves Barua, Nilmani Phukan, Parag Chaliha, Maheswar Neog, Bhabaprasad Chaliha, Omeo Kumar Das, Padmadhar Chaliha, Binandachandra Barua, Trailokyanath Goswami, Dilip Kumar Barua, Govinda Prasad Sarma, S. N. Sarma, Anima Dutta, Hirendranath Dutta, Upendranath Goswami, Rajanikanta Dev Sharma, Mukunda Madhava Sharma, Dipak Sen, Birendra Kumar Phukan, Ritha Devi, Aruna Mukherjee, Ratna Baruah, Sister Dipika, Nilmani Senapati, Jyotsnanath Sen, Manbhanjan Bohidar and Annada Sankar Ray who have written on different aspects of Bezbaroa's life and activities and his contribution to the Indian Renaissance, to social changes and to literature, art and philosophy. Since he was a man mainly of literature, greater emphasis is automatically laid upon this aspect of his activities. Of special interest is his own *Mor Jivan Somvaraṇ*, translated by Bhabaprasad Chaliha (pp. 67 ff.—'The Jonāki and Asamīyā Bhāṣā-Unnatī-sādhinī Sabhā'). The volume also contains seven appendices consisting of speeches on Bezbaroa delivered by eminent personalities on the occasion of his birth centenary celebration.

We are thankful to the editor and the Lakshminath Bezbaroa birth centenary Celebration Committee as well as to the University of Gauhati for bringing out the volume and for introducing the present generation with this *Sāhityarathi*.

N. N. BHATTACHARYA

LXXXIV

S. K. DE MEMORIAL VOLUME, edited by R. C. Hazara and S. C. Banerji, published by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1972; pp. 378; price not mentioned.

Prof. S. K. De added lustre to Indological studies by his great scholarly achievements and earned unstinted regard of his pupils and others. The value of his contribution to the field of knowledge is immense. We are grateful to the S. K. De Memorial Committee as well as the publishers (Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay) and the editors (Dr. R. C. Hazra and Dr. S. C. Banerji) for bringing out the volume dedicated to his hallowed memory.

The volume begins with De's bio-data and a bibliography of his published writings. Then we have the reminiscences of R. C. Majumdar who was an intimate friend of De. The present volume incorporates a good number of articles on Indology, and we are happy to note that all the contributors to the volume, have maintained a high standard so that the volume has become a useful publication and will benefit the students of Indology.

The following articles are incorporated in this volume : 'Susil Kumar De : A Reminiscence' by R. C. Majumdar, 'Hindus and Turks from Prehistoric Times' by S. K. Chatterji, 'The Rāmacarita of Sandhyākaranandin and King Madanapāla as depicted therein and in the Manahali Copper-plate Grant' by R. G. Basak, 'Six Notes on Sanskrit Etymology' by T. Burrow, 'The Author of the Leghu-Yogavāsiṣṭha' by V. Raghavan, 'On Vāmana's Kāvyaśāstrakārasūtravṛtti, V. 2. 89' by Y. Ojihara, 'The Number of Ratnas' by D. C. Sircar, 'Mānavadharmaśāstra, VII. 99, and Yājñavalkyasmṛiti, I. 317' by L. Sternbach, 'Bengali Lexicography upto 1800' by T. P. Mukherji, 'A Contribution to our Knowledge of Śhāvira Śroṇa Koṭṭivāṇa' by E. Waldschmidt, 'Vālmiki, the Singer of Tales' by M. Hara, 'Vedānta Philosophy in Pure Literary Works' by H. Nakamura, 'Proprietary Rights of the Village Community in Northern India' by L. Gopal, 'The Evolution of Bhakti Cult in Āryāvarta and the Revival of Bhakti Cult in South India' by V. Bhattacharya, 'Nābhāgāriṣṭa Genealogy' by D. R. Mankad, 'Paramaśiva and Bhagavān' by A. Basu, 'Theism in Indian Philosophy' by Hiranmay Banerjee, 'Language and Evolution' by Sudhibhusan Bhattacharya, 'What is Sāhitya ?' by K. Krishnamoorthy, 'Chronological Sequence of Kālidāsa's Works' by M. Ghosh, 'Some Difficult Words and Passages in the Shinkot Steatite Casket Inscription of the Time of Menander' by S. N. Ghosal, 'Dr. S. K. De as a Teacher of English Literature' by P. K. Guha, 'British People in Bengali Folk Literature' by Asutosh Bhattacharya, 'Irregular Treatment of the Augment in the Rāmāyaṇa' by Nilmadhab Sen, 'The Reconstruction of the Text of the Abhiyānāśakuntalam' by Dilcep Kumar Kanjilal, 'Phonological Study of the Modern Indian Vernaculars' by G. C. Basu, 'Commen-

taries of Mallinātha' by Sures Chandra Banerji and 'Influence of Bengali Smṛti Writers on Maithila Smṛti' by J. Ganguly Shastri.

We recommend this volume to all students of Indology.

N. N. BHATTACHARYA

Editorial Note. In a work of this nature, it is not difficult to trace errors and points of disagreement as well as other blemishes. Some papers (e. g. those at pp. 173 ff. and pp. 229 ff.) are of a fully controversial nature. There are some which are not free from errors. Thus in the statement that "Mahāna's sister was the chief queen of Rāmapāla" (p. 43), 'Rāmpāla' is a mistake for 'Rāmpāla's father'. The length of Madanapāla's reign can hardly be quoted as '14 or 19 years only' (p. 37) after the discovery of the Valgudar inscription of Madanapāla's 18th regnal year and Śaka 1083 more than two decades ago. In our opinion, the expression *janaka-bhū* of the *Rāmacarita* should be understood as 'one's paternal territory' and not as 'the land of one's nativity' (pp. 36). There seems to be no justification for writing 'Susil Kumar De' (p. 1 ff.) when De himself wrote his name as 'Sushil'. The paper at pp. 298-368 is useful though its title ('Commentaries of Mallinātha') seems to be rather unsatisfactory since 65 out of its pages deal with 'Works and Authors cited by Mallinātha in his Commentaries' while, of the remaining 5 pages, 3 deal with Mallinātha himself and 2 only with his commentaries.

LXXXV

RĀSTRİYAGRANTHASŪCIH : SAMSKṚTAVIBHĀGAH, 1963-67,

edited by N. B. Marathe, Central Reference Library, Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, Government of India, Calcutta, 1972 ; pages 280.

The present volume is a continuation of the series of the very useful bibliographical handbooks on printed literature issued in the different Indian languages, which are being brought out by the Central Reference Library, Calcutta. In 1954, the Government of India passed the Delivery of Books (Public Libraries) Act, according to which all the publishers in the country would send one copy each of their publications to the National Library, and the resulting accumulation made it possible to publish India's National Bibliography. The first volume of the Sanskrit Section of the series, covering the period 1958-62, was published in 1964. The second volume of the same is now being presented to the public. This volume covers the period 1963-67 the number of titles delivered to the National Library under the Act during the period being 964. Of these, 508 are texts in Sanskrit without translation and the remaining items include text and translation in various regional languages as well as English. During the period under review, 27 works in modern languages were also translated into Sanskrit. Nine new journals in Sanskrit started publication during the

period 1963-67. One of them is a weekly and one annual, while seven are published quarterly. The books and periodicals listed herein are arranged first according to a modified Dewey classification and then according to an alphabetical arrangement of the names of authors, and also the titles of books in the case of anonymous works, with cross references to the titles as well as to the names of editors. This useful publication is expected to serve as a valuable reference book.

N. N. BHATTACHARYA

LXXXVI

THE LAW OF DEBT IN ANCIENT INDIA by Heramba Chatterjee, Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series, No. LXXV, Calcutta, 1971; pages 418; price Rs. 25.00.

As the author says, the present work makes an attempt to look at the laws of debt in ancient India as presented in the Dharmaśāstras and their expository texts. This attempt is made through six chapters which are preceded by Introduction, Foreword, Prefatory Note and List of Abbreviations and followed by a Bibliography, four Appendices and three Indexes.

The first chapter is on the concept of 'Debt'. It has been shown that the earliest form of contract was debt. In Hindu law, however, there is no general theory of contract. The author also discusses the legal meaning of debt and the Śāstric concept of *kusida* and *ṛṇa*.

The second chapter deals with 'Interest'. Starting with the general rates of interest, it gives a detailed account of the different rates at which interest was charged. Some special provisions recommended by Kātyāyana have been studied with due emphasis. Inscriptions form an important source for determining the rates of interest current in different places and different times.

'Liability to discharge the Debt' forms the subject matter of the third chapter. Here the author has shown how Hindu law emphasises on the moral obligation of discharging a debt. This explains why there is always preference for a male issue who, as the heir of a deceased debtor, remains duty-bound, unless he is a minor, to clear the debt of his ancestors. While the son is expected to pay the debt with interest the grandson is to pay the capital only. The obligation of clearing such a debt falls on the great-grandson only when he inherits the property of his great-grandfather. Except under certain circumstances, the husband or the wife is not responsible for paying each other's debt. As for persons liable to pay the debt of a departed person, it has been shown that one who takes the assets comes first, but that there is no unanimity among the Śāstrakāras regarding the responsibility of one who accepts the wife of the deceased or of the disqualified son.

The title of the fourth chapter is 'Security—I. Suretyship.' After attempting to explain such terms like *pratibhū*, *avastha* and *lagnaka* which are employed to convey the sense of a security, the author gives an account of different forms of surety, the first form of security. He then enumerates, on the basis of the law books, the desirable qualities of the persons to be selected as sureties. The obligation of the debtor to the surety and the concession to be offered to the sureties also have been discussed in detail. At the end, he analyses the epigraphic evidence regarding suretyship.

The fifth chapter, which is entitled 'Security—II. Pledge', deals with different questions relating to pledge as a form of security. Epigraphic records are found not to throw much light on the various aspects of a pledge. But the *Lekhapaddhati* seems to suggest that the transactions of pledge were guided more or less by the spirit of the Śāstric injunctions.

The sixth chapter covers the various methods which, according to the lawyers, may be applied by a creditor for the 'Recovery of Debt'. These various methods can be divided under two heads, viz. judicial and extrajudicial. Some inscriptions suggest the existence of certain customary practices in respect of realisation of the debt which have no support from the Śāstras.

The author must be congratulated for the scholarly way in which he has studied different aspects of debt. J. D. M. Derrett has rightly observed in his Foreword that a perusal of this book will show how various modern customs relating to debt arose and where they fitted into the system and where, by inference, we may find their roots to this day. But we expected something more and thought that the author would attempt at identifying the laws of debt with particular areas. It is obvious that these laws were not obtainable all over India and that the canonical texts were evolved under such geographical and historical circumstances which vary radically with the changes of time and space. The book under review does not show any such awareness and in its absence the whole treatment appears somewhat flat. To conform the Hindu laws in geographical setting is undoubtedly a difficult task, but the author, who has displayed so much erudition in writing the present thesis, should not have avoided it only for that reason.

As to many of the observations made by the author, one may have his own reservation. Thus *paṭika* in the Nasik inscription (No 12) need not be the quarter of a *paṇa* (pp. 71 f.). The author also has not noticed that, according to an inscription from Kanheri (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 90), the rate of interest is as low as 6% per annum. Why the annual rate of interest varies from 9% to 12% at the same place, e.g., at Nasik, and probably at the same time, remains unexplained. A discussion on money lending agencies would have been very useful to an inquisitive reader.

What has been said above does not aim at minimising the worth of the book. Taking everything into consideration, it is a welcome addition to the growing literature on Hindu jurisprudence.

D. R. DAS

LXXXVII

A HISTORY OF SOUTH KANARA by K. V. Ramesh, Karnatak University, Dharwar, 1970 ; pages 340 ; price Rs. 30.00.

In this book the author has made an exhaustive chronological arrangement and discussion of epigraphical records pertaining to the history of South Kanara. It starts with an introductory chapter which deals with the land and people and discusses the source of the subject. The six succeeding chapters take into account the political history of South Kanara upto the downfall of Vijayanagara in 1565 and deals with Tuluva under the early and medieval Ālupas, during Hoysala domination and as a province of the Vijayanagara empire. The last three chapters are devoted to administration, social and economic life and religion.

In the Introduction, the author attempts at establishing the territorial definition and delimiting the historical geography of South Kanara. The problem of the advent of man in this area and the significance of the Paraśurāma legend in this context have been briefly studied. The origin and etymology of the word *Tulu* have also been discussed.

The second chapter is on the Beginning of History. It has been assumed that Satiyaputra of the Aśokan edicts refers to the Tulu country. The history of South Kanara following the Mauryan age has been reconstructed on the basis of the Sangam literature. Sometime during this period, i.e., between the 3rd and 1st centuries B. C., Nannan became the master of the Koṅkaṇa, Tuluva, Pūli-nāḍu and the north-western frontier of the Tamil country. The darkness that prevailed in the history of South Kanara after Nannan's death in a battle-field was lifted during the 5th century A.D. when the early Kadambas became the sovereign power in this region.

South Kanara became politically independent with the advent of the Ālupas sometime during the 7th century A.D. The history of these Ālupas has been dealt with in the third and fourth chapters. During the first half of the 14th century the Ālupas were subdued by the Hoysalas. In the fifth chapter, the author gives an account of the Hoysala occupation of South Kanara. He also reconstructs the history of the last Ālupas who were ruling as feudatory chieftains.

In 1336 the kingdom of Vijayanagara was founded by Harihara I and, within a decade, South Kanara became a part of it. The domination of Vijayanagara over this region came to an end in 1565 when the battle of

Rakkasa-Taṅgaḍi sounded the death-knell of the empire. A loosely knit kingdom arose out of the ruins of the empire under the Keḷaḍi rulers ; but the allegiance of the Āḷupas to them was nothing but nominal. This period of the history of Tuḷuva has been discussed in the sixth chapter.

In the following chapter, working of the civil, military and judicial departments during the early, medieval and Vijayanagara periods has been taken up. Discussion on the administrative units such as the *nāḍu* and its subdivisions, functioning of the guilds and other local associations has also been made.

In the eighth chapter, which is on the social and economic condition of the Tuḷu people, the author deals with the caste system, agriculture and agriculturists, problem of ownership of land, taxation, weights and measures, loans and mortgages, and trade and trade units.

The ninth chapter contains an account of the different religions and religious sects that flourished in South Kanara. It has been shown that Śaivism was the principal faith of the people of Tuḷuva. Vaiṣṇavism also played an important role in this region. Jainism, which was dormant in the early period, started receiving royal patronage when the Hoysalas extended their authority over South Kanara.

In the last chapter, the author makes a rapid survey of the currents and cross-currents through which the history of South Kanara had to pass.

Confining to the history of a restricted region, Dr. Ramesh is able to give a very detailed account of what happened in this rather obscure part of India. History of India will take a definite shape when similar works on other districts and localities will be made available. Dr. Ramesh deserves sincere thanks from all concerned for bringing out such a well-documented book. But his identification of Satiyaputra with South Kanara, though not improbable, has not been conclusively established. Moreover his reconstruction of the post-Mauryan history of this region on the basis of the Sangam literature contains much which is of uncertain historical value. Again *puṭṭi* or *puṭṭige* (p. 272) sometimes stands for a measure equivalent to twenty *tumus* (cf. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 268).

D. R. DAS.

Editorial Note. Dr. Ramesh assigns the Sangam age to the first three or to the first three or four centuries A.D., though the later limit can hardly be so early. He has no doubt said whatever could be said about the importance of the Āḷupas, but has also pointed out how they became feudatories of the Early Cālukyas during the days of Kīrtivarman I in the sixth century and were often subdued by other powerful emperors during the succeeding epochs. His treatment of the history of South Kanara, under the Vijayana ara empire, founded by the brothers Harihara and Bukka, is elaborate

and lucid. We had occasion to suggest the inclusion of the Karwar region in Śātiyaputra's dominions (*Stud. Ind. Coins*, p. 133, note).

LXXXVIII—LXXXIX

(1) **DYNASTIC HISTORY OF BENGAL** (c. 750-1200 A.D.) by Abdul Momin Chowdhury, published by the Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dacca, 1967; pages 310 (including Appendices, Bibliography and Index, pp. 271 ff.) with 3 plates and 2 maps; price Rs. 22-50;

(2) **EVERYDAY LIFE IN THE PĀLA EMPIRE** by Mrs. Shahanara Hussain, published by the Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dacca, 1968; pages 218 (including Bibliography and Index, pp. 197 ff.) with 1 map and 82 plates; price 20-00.

Before the creation of Bangladesh, books published in what was then East Pakistan were not easily available to us in India. We are glad now to have this opportunity of studying and reviewing two interesting publications of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan (recently renamed as Asiatic Society of Bangladesh). Both the books are creditable performances and are welcome additions to the literature on the early history of Bengal.

Dr. Chowdhury's work which earned for him the Ph. D. degree of the University of London is divided into three parts, the first of which (dealing with the Pālas) being subdivided into the following Chapters: I. Pāla Ascendancy: a Reassessment, II. End of Ascendancy: a Period of Stagnation, and III. Decline and Disintegration. Part II, entitled 'Dynasties of South-Eastern Bengal', discusses the history of the Devas, the Harikela kings, the Candras and the Varmans. Part III deals with the history of the Senas and the Muslim Conquest.

Because the subject has been treated by several scholars during the past few decades, there is a ring of familiarity in the topics discussed; but the author has studied much of the material appearing in Indian periodicals that were available to him in London and has succeeded in presenting us a useful account. Dr. Chowdhury is generally careful and often exhibits critical acumen in his discussions.

Of course there are points on which the reviewer is inclined to disagree with the learned author. Thus there is no proof that Vīgrahapāla II had a longer reign of more than 3 or 4 years while Vīgrahapāla III, who issued a charter in his 17th regnal year, seems to have ruled at least upto his 26th year. Dr. Chowdhury follows scholars who assign 26 years' reign to Vīgrahapāla II (969-95 A.D.) and 17 years' rule to Vīgrahapāla III (1058-75 A.D.). Now we know that Rāmapāla's reign period quoted usually as 42 years is wrong because a manuscript was copied in his 53rd regnal year. How can we adjust this additional period of 11 years? It seems that instead of

allotting 26+17+42 years (85 years) respectively to Vighrahapāla II, Vighrahapāla III and Rāmapāla, the correct allotment would be, roughly speaking, Vighrahapāla II 4 years, Vighrahapāla III 27 years and Rānapāla 54 years, i.e., 85 years in all.

The problem of the so-called Keśavasena is really palaeographical, probably not very easily intelligible to historians (p. 262) ; but the views at least of Kielhorn, who regarded *Keśava* as a wrong reading for *Viśvarūpa* in the Edilpur plate, cannot be brushed aside, because he is undoubtedly the most dependable writer on Sanskrit inscriptions. Dr. Chowdhury's approach to the question of Gopāla's election is hypercritical probably because he is not conscious about similar elections of such rulers as Pallava Nandivarman II of Kāñcī, king Brahmapāla of Prāgyotiṣa and Yaśaskara of Kashmir. Some idea about Nandivarman's election by 'the Mātras, Mūlaprakṛtis and Ghaṭakayar' or 'the feudatory chiefs, the members of the mercantile guilds, the Mūlaprakṛtus and Kāḍakka-muttaraiyar' (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 117) is given in the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāl temple inscription ; but a clearer idea is offered by the *Rājatarāṅgi*, V. 457 ff., describing the selection of Yaśaskara as the king of Kashmir in preference to Kamalavardhana by the learned Brāhmanas.

The subject of Dr. Mrs. Hussain's work, which is her thesis for the M. A. degree of the University of London, is very interesting. It is written in five chapters, I-III of which are introductory and deal respectively with the Geography of Bengal and Bihar, History of the Pālas and Archaeological Sites. Chapter IV (Analysis of the Material) is the most important section of the book in more than hundred pages (pp. 70-181) while Chapter V (Conclusion) deals with various aspects of the socio-religious life in 13 pages. There is an emphasis on dress, coiffure and ornaments, and dresses of the higher classes, common people, warriors and children have been discussed. There is also a section on weapons, both offensive and defensive.

Unfortunately the work suffers from a large number of misprints and other errors. In innumerable cases, *r* or *t* has been used where *ṛ* is required. Cf. also 'D. A. Bhanderkai' (p. xv) for 'D. R. Bhandarkar', 'Guruva Misra' (p. 11) for 'Guravamiśra', 'the Kasi river' (p. 15) for 'the Kosi river', 'Rādhā' (p. 17, line 13) for 'Rādha', 'Karmanāśa and Phalgm' (p. 19) for 'Karmanāśa and Phalgu', 'c. 750-77 A. D.' (p. 20) for 'c. 750-70 A. D.', 'Dhulā plate' (p. 34) for 'Dhullā plate', '1932' (pp. 44, note 4) for '1942' (cf. p. 200), 'Mati Chandra' (p. 204) for 'Moti Chandra', etc., etc.

The date of Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaadarśa* is later than the 6th century A. D. (p. 10). Dr. Mrs. Hussain's statement, "The city of Devaparvata was most probably situated in the Mainamati and Lalmai regions" (p. 64) shows the

inadequacy of her information because the city has been located on the Chandimura peak at the southern end of the Mainamati hills while the Kāśīrodā river, on which it was situated, is the dried up stream now called Khira or Khirnai. H. C. Raychaudhuri's well-known views regarding Śākṛāditya and his successors, as offered in his *Political History of Ancient India*, have been wrongly ascribed to *Gulde to Nalanda* by A. Ghosh. The rule of 15 years (1055-70 A. D.) assigned to Vigrahapāla III shows that Dr. Mrs. Hussain is not even aware of the Bangaon plate which was issued by the said king in his 17th regnal year and was published in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 48 ff., about 20 years ago. Of course, as indicated above, there is reason to assign to Vigrahapāla III a reign period of about 27 years.

The book will be more useful to the students of history if such blemishes are eradicated in the next edition.

D. C. SIRCAR

XC

RELIGION IN ĀNDHRA by B. S. L. Hanumantha Rao, published by the author, Guntur, 1973; pages 319 (excluding Appendices, pp. 321-33, Bibliography, pp. 334-46, and Index, pp. 347-61), with 8 Plates and 1 map; price Rs. 25'00.

The work under review earned for its young author the Ph. D. degree of the Karnatak University, Dharwar. It offers a more or less elaborate account of the religious life of the Āndhra country before its occupation by the Muslims. The subject has been dealt with in four Books and a few Appendices. Book I (Introduction: Early Religions) is divided into the following sections—(1) Introductory, (2) Land, People and History, (3) Early Beliefs and Practices, and (4) Spread of Brāhmanism. Books II and III deal respectively with Buddhism and Jainism while Chapter IV, entitled Hinduism, is divided into seven sections as follows—(1) Vedic Ritualism, (2) Purāṇic Theism, (3) Devotionalism, (4) Vaiṣṇavism, (5) Śaivism, (6) Temple and Maṭha, and (7) Sectarian Harmony.

Dr. Hanumantha Rao must be congratulated for the collection of a mass of interesting material from various sources and his work contains a useful account of the religious life of the territory to which he belongs. Unfortunately, the entire book is disfigured by hundreds of misprints, only 16 of which find place in his *Errata*. By way of illustration, we may refer to the few lines at p. 328 which contains about twenty misprints. Thus the word *gaccha* has been wrongly spelt, in all the six cases of its occurrence, as *gachcha* in five places and as *gachch* in one. Likewise the word *saṅgha* has been wrongly spelt in all the cases, as *sangha* in six cases and as *sangh* in two. *Balātākaraṇa*, as given in two other cases, would probably have been better than *Balātākarakāṇa*. In any case, *Andhra*, *Inga*^o and *°ranga*^o

should have been *Āndhra*, *Liṅga* and *°raṅga* respectively. In the same way, 'Dated A.D. 1395, *A.R.S.I.E.*, 1915 App. C. No. 16' should better have '*A.R.S.I.E.*, 1915, App. C, No. 16, dated A.D. 1595'. We request the author to be careful in removing such blemishes from the pages of the book in the future edition so that it becomes more useful to the students of history.

While some of the author's suggestions appear to be acceptable, some of his arguments are inconclusive and conclusions rather immature and hasty. Thus his view that Śrīparvatasvāmin (horribly spelt as Śrīparvatīswāmy at p. 251), the tutelary deity of the Viṣṇukunḍins, was not the god Śiva Mallikārjuna of Śrīsaṭṭam but a form of Viṣṇu appeals to us, but his theory that the said god is the same as the Buddha worshipped at Nagarjunikonda does not. To his arguments in favour of the identification of Śrīparvatasvāmin with Viṣṇu (some of which are not quite satisfactory), we may add probably the fact that the god Śiva in his Liṅga form usually had names ending in the word *īvara* while names of the forms of Viṣṇu installed for worship generally ended not in *īvara*, but in *svāmin*. However, it is impossible to think that, as early as in the fifth century A. D., the Buddha was so completely identified with Viṣṇu that there was no clear trace of their Buddhist faith in the epigraphs of the Viṣṇukunḍin kings. Of course some of the Nagarjunikonda inscriptions associate the place with Śrīparvata; but even at this place, by the side of celebrated Buddhist establishments, there were temples of Brāhmanical deities such as the god Aṣṭabhujaśvāmin, apparently a form of Viṣṇu. Dr. Hanumantha Rao forgets in the course of some of his arguments in the book here and there that there were and even still are temples of different communities at the celebrated holy places of a particular community. Another fact, sometimes not recognised in his arguments, is that the family's religion may be conventionally represented as one's religion even though the said person may have changed his faith. Thus there are two Candra kings who are called 'a devotee of the Sugata (Buddha)' like their ancestors, though they themselves were devoted to Viṣṇu or Śiva. Dr. Hanumantha Rao thinks that the original home of the Pallavas 'can easily be located in the region of Śrīparvata' because their earlier inscriptions are found in the Nellore-Guntur region (p. 21). But epigraphic evidence seems to show that, when the Ikṣvākus were ruling in the Krishna-Guntur region, the Early Pallavas had their headquarters at the city of Kāñci about 50 miles from Madras and that the latter succeeded in extending their power over the Ikṣvāku territories from Kāñci.

Among the many careless errors, mention may be made of a few. Not king Śātakarṇi but his queen is described in the Nanaghat inscription as 'the performer of numerous Vedic sacrifices' (p. 10). The *Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age* should not have been ascribed to 'Altekar and Mirashi' (p. 27, note 104),

because the said work, which is Vol. VI of *A New History of the Indian People*, was edited by R. C. Majumdar and A. S. Altekar. The Prakrit word *purisa* in names like *Virapurisadatta* is apparently not Sanskrit *purīṣa* (pp. 62 ff.) but *puruṣa* so that the said name is *Virapurūṣadatta* and not *Virapurīṣadatta*. While referring to 'the images of Saṅkarṣaṇa, Vāsudeva and Baladeva' (p. 247) mention should have been made of the fact that Saṅkarṣaṇa and Baladeva are different names of the same divinity.

In some cases, the author's information should have gone beyond Āndhradeśa. Thus when he speaks of the erection of stone pillars in honour of the dead (p. 178), he does not notice that the same custom is referred to in earlier records like the Suivhar inscription of the time of Kaṇiṣka I and the four Andhau inscriptions of 130 A.D.

In spite of defects of the types indicated above, the book will be useful to the students of the religious history of ancient India.

D. C. SIRCAR

XCI

STUDIES IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF ASSAM by the Late Rai Bahadur K. L. Barua, edited by Professor M. Neog, published by Assam Sāhitya Sabhā, Gauhati-Jorhat, Assam, 1973; pages 342 (including Index, pp. 333-42) with 5 illustrations and 2 maps; price Rs. 20 00.

Rai Bahadur K. L. Barua (1872-1940) is well known to the students of Indology for his *Early History of Kāmarūpa*, Shillong, 1933. The work under review which contains a collection of his articles (including review notes), has been edited by Prof. M. Neog, President of the K. L. Barua Birth Anniversary Celebrations Committee of the Assam Sāhitya Sabhā. The ninetythree notes are small in size; seven of them were published in the *Indian Culture*, Calcutta, and the rest in the *Journal of the Assam Research Society* (Gauhati) of which Barua was the founder-editor. Prof. Neog has added an Appendix containing the first two chapters of Barua's incomplete auto-biography and an Introduction dealing with Barua's life and work. We are thankful to the editor and publishers of the book which will be useful to the students of the early period of the history of Assam.

Padmanath Bhattacharya Vidyāvinod's introduction to his Bengali work entitled *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī* is the most brilliant essay on the political history of ancient Assam; but the credit for popularising the study of both the political and cultural history of the said tract during the early period goes to Barua.

At p. x of his Introduction, Prof. Neog refers to a review of Barua's *Early History of Kāmarūpa* published in 1933 in which the reviewer regarded the work as a distinct contribution to the study of the early history of India

and also pointed out that it exhibits a spirit of chauvinism throughout. Prof. Neog draws our attention to Barua's reply to this review, which appeared in the *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. II, No. 1, April, 1934, pp. 19-23, and has been included in the present work, pp. 31-36. In his reply Barua admitted that he had emphasised the glories of Kāmarūpa wherever it was due in his opinion because the people of Assam were justly proud of their past. We are sorry, however, that this approach does not appear to us quite suitable for one engaged in a scientific investigation in historical truth.

Besides the above, there are several other notes in the volume under review which relate to controversies on problems discussed in the author's *Early History of Kāmarūpa*. One such topic is the controversy on the view that ancient Kāmarūpa included wide areas not only of North Bengal but even of East Bihar as far as the Kosi river in the west (cf. 67ff., 81ff., 101, 102, etc.). The theory is primarily based on the identification of the river Kauśikā, mentioned in the Nidhanpur copper-plate grant of king Bhāskara-varman of Kāmarūpa, with the Kusi or Kosi in Bihar and not with the Kusiara in the Sylhet District (now in Bangladesh). Unfortunately, there is no proof that the country of Prāgiyotiṣa or Kāmarūpa extended in the west beyond the river Karatoyā which is sometimes mentioned as the boundary between Kāmarūpa and the territory of Puṇḍravardhana that comprised considerable areas of North Bengal including at least as far north as the Dinajpur District. Moreover, it is well known that, according to scholars, the Kusi or Kosi originally joined the Brahmaputra or Karatoyā in North Bengal.

In his Introduction, Prof. Neog should have mentioned the fact that the Dūbi plates of Bhāskara-varman and the Uttarbil or Howrahghat plates of Balavarman III were carefully edited in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXX, pp. 278-87, and Vol. XXXII, pp. 283-92, respectively. Instead he speaks of their publication respectively in the *Journal of the Assam Research Society* and *Assam Sāhitya Sabhā Patrikā*, in which the treatment of the records is quite unsatisfactory.

D. C. SIRCAR

XCII

MINTS AND MINTING IN INDIA by Upendra Thakur, published by Chowkhamba Publication, Varanasi, 1972; pages 163 (excluding Bibliography, pp. 164-74, and Index, pp. 175-92) with 6 plates; price Rs. 20.00.

Prof. Thakur's work under review deals with some interesting aspects of early Indian currency and is a welcome addition to the meagre literature on Indian numismatics. We are grateful to the author for bringing together in the present volume the views of different scholars on particular topics and also for offering his own views in some cases.

The book contains five chapters as follows—I. The Age of Barter and Exchange, II. The First Coins, III. The State and the Coinage, IV. Symbols Vs. Mint-towns, and V. Economic Data from the Coins. Chapter I on 'The Age of Barter and Exchange' does not appear to be directly connected with 'Mints and Minting' while Chapter II entitled 'The First Coins' was contributed to a Seminar on Early Indian Indigenous Coins held at the Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, in 1970, under the title 'The First Coins : a Study in Growth and Evolution', and was published in its proceedings (cf. pp. 21-47) edited with a few notes by the writer of the following lines (cf., e.g., the author's attention drawn to the ascription of the *Vārttikakāra* Kātyāyana to the improbably early date of 600 B. C. at p. 32).

Prof. Thakur's attention may be drawn to a few such cases in which he appears to have depended on unsound and carelessly propounded views and those which require support or clarification. Thus he accepts the view that coins in general became rarer from the time of Harṣavardhana (606-47 A. D.) onwards, which points to the decline of trade and disappearance of urban life (pp. 161-62). In our opinion, this is utterly opposed to all available evidence. There are numerous references to various types of coins in the inscriptions of the period concerned while, besides innumerable unattributable monetary issues, a large number of coins of the age in question can be definitely assigned to particular rulers of different parts of the country. It is now well known that coins once entering the Indian market remained in circulation for many centuries and that it was not the Government but the traders and moneyers who usually determined whether fresh coins required to be issued. It should also be remembered that cowrie-shells and dummy pieces of metal were always available for use if and when there was shortage of real coins in the market. There are silver coins of Śīlāditya Harṣavardhana himself, and among the coins mentioned in inscriptions of the period concerned, mention may be made of the Anjaneri (Nasik District, Maharashtra) plates of the eighth century A.D. speaking of the prevalence of silver coins of the Early Kalacuri king Kṛṣṇa who flourished in the sixth century A. D. The said coins have been discovered in several sites of Western India. Likewise, the Siyadoni (Jhansi District, U. P.) inscriptions speak of the *dramma* issued by Ādivarāha as well as by Vighrahatuṅga or Vighrahapāla. The Ādivarāha-drammas are silver coins issued by the Pratihāra king Bhoja I Ādivarāha (c. 836-85 A.D.) and silver coins bearing the name *Ādivarāha* in the legend have been actually discovered. Similarly, silver coins bearing the legend *Śrī-Vighraha* (eighth or ninth century A.D.) have also been found. There are also many cases, in which mention is made of the issue of a particular coin by a king, though we have yet to discover any such

issues. Thus, even though Haribhadra's *Nemināhacariu* (1159 A.D.) speaks of the issue of coins bearing the figure of Lakṣmī from the *ṣaṅkaśālā* or mint of Caulukya Mūlarāja I (961-96 A.D.), we have not so far discovered any coin of the type. There is also mention of coins which can hardly be identified. Thus the Siyadoni inscriptions speak of a coin called Pañciyaka-dramma; but we have not yet been able to identify the coin with any known monetary issue of the medieval period. Much has already been written on the foreign trade of the period. Note, e.g., I-tsing's travels in merchant's vessels in the latter half of the seventh century A.D., the testimony of Ibn Khurdadbeh (844-48 A.D.), Sulaymān (851 A.D.) and many other Arabs, etc.

We consider it wrong to speak of 'the sudden disappearance of silver money...in Kuṣāṇa times' (pp. 157-58). This is because the Śaka Satraps of Western India had an extensive silver currency during the age of the Kuṣāṇas. Again, the theory (pp. 160-61) explaining the unpopularity of copper coins with the Guptas by suggesting 'the growth of self-sufficient economic units which precluded the rise of coins by the rural peasantry rendering 'the use of money less important' is apparently unwarranted because we have to take into consideration the extensive copper coinage imitated from Kuṣāṇa money and discovered in Orissa, Bengal, Bihar and U. P. mostly issued during Gupta times.

Prof. Thakur's statement (p. 159) that "despite their extensive kingdom, they (i.e. the Śātavāhanas) were not economically well off" is clearly wrong because the great opulence of the Śātavāhana monarchs is abundantly proved by the fragmentary Nanaghat inscription recording a Śātavāhana queen's gifts of more than 72,000 cows and 45,000 Kāṣṭhāpāṇas (silver punch-marked coins) besides villages, wagonfuls of paddy, clothes, horses, elephants, chariots, etc., in connection with the sacrifices celebrated by her.

In the above lines, we have drawn the learned author's attention to a few cases only from the last chapter of the book.

We recommend the book to the lovers of Indian numismatics.

D. C. SIRCAR

XCIII

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF THE HINDU REVENUE SYSTEM by the late Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, 2nd edition with Glossary revised by S. K. Mitra, published by Saraswat Library, Calcutta, 1972; pp. 448 (including Glossary of Fiscal Terms and Technical Expressions, pp. 385-428, Index, pp. 429-48); price Rs. 45.00 inland and \$ 8.00 or £ 3.00 foreign.

Ghoshal's valuable work on the Hindu revenue system was published by the University of Calcutta in 1929. It was out of market for some years,

and we are thankful to the Saraswat Library for the present reprint. Thanks are also due to Dr. S. K. Mitra for the revised Glossary.

The work is divided into four Parts, Part I dealing with the evidence of the Vedic Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas and Part II with that of the works on the Hindu Arthaśāstra, Nītiśāstra and Smṛti (together with their commentaries and digests) as well as of the epic and the Purāṇic literature. These chapters show the learned author's views on the gradual development of revenue system. In Part III, Ghoshal makes an attempt to reconstruct the revenue history of Northern India, from the rise of the Maurya empire down to the Muhammadan conquest, on the basis of epigraphical evidence. In Part IV of the work, the author sums up the main characteristics and tendencies of the revenue system of ancient and early medieval India.

What Ghoshal has given us in this book is an exceptionally competent survey of the evidence available to us and utilised by him and is no doubt of great importance. We are sorry, however, that the brilliant work did not attempt an examination of the data that could be gathered about the revenue system of Southern India from epigraphical and literary sources. An attempt would have been welcome even on the basis of the Sanskrit inscriptions of the South Indian ruling families as well as the available translation of literary works and epigraphical records in the Dravidian languages. Ghoshal need not have avoided expressions like *parihṛta-paṅg-otkoṭa*, *sarva-paṅga-parihṛta* and others of the kind occurring in South Indian records in Sanskrit, which were published long ago. We really miss technical words like *paṅga* and *utkoṭa* in his Glossary specially because these interesting fiscal terms are not recognised in Sanskrit lexicons. Of these two terms, *paṅga* is a Telugu word recognised in the dictionaries in the sense of 'a tax in the shape of one-fourth of the produce collected in olden times by the government on lands in the possession of gods and Brāhmaṇas', while *utkoṭa* is Sanskrit from Prakrit *ukkoṭa* used in the Jain works in the sense of 'presents made to the king and others'. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 54ff. Some other interesting words of their type are *khajjana* and *āvedāna*, the first of which occurs in many inscriptions and is the same as Marāṭhi *khājān* or *khajān* meaning 'a salt marsh or meadow, land near the sea and exposed to be flooded, ground recovered by embankment from sea'. The other word *āvedāna* in the sense of 'a tax' occurs in the passage *āvedānāni śaṭtrīṁśat* in the Sanskrit part of the Veligalani plates of Kapilendra, the Oriya part of the inscription giving it as *āvadānā*. The expression 'the thirty-six taxes', however, really means 'all the taxes'. The word *āvedāna* in the above sense is not found in Sanskrit lexicons nor is *āvadānā* in the same sense recognised in the Oriya dictionaries. Some recently published works including my *Indian Epigraphy* (Delhi, 1965) and *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*

(Delhi, 1966) is expected to be of help for a fresh study of a number of questions relating to the subjects, which are discussed by Ghoshal here and there in his book especially in Part III.

We recommend the book to all students of early Indian history.

D. C. SIRCAR

XCIV

THE PĀRADAS by B.N. Mukherjee, published by Pilgrim Publishers, Calcutta, 1972 ; pp. 149 (including Abbreviations, Bibliography, Supplementary Notes, Description of Plates and Index, pp. 105-49) with 4 plates ; price Rs. 25.00 inland, and \$ 5.00 or 35 s. foreign.

The book under review contains three chapters and two appendices. Chapter I (pp. 1-17 with notes 18-27) deals with the coins that could be associated with the Pāradas and Chapter II (pp. 28-34) contains a catalogue of the said eight coins. Chapter III (pp. 35-69 with notes, pp. 70-87) gives us whatever is known and can be assumed about the Pārada people. The volume exhibits Dr. Mukherjee's thoroughness of treatment that makes a small subject look like a big one as in the case with his other works. An attempt has been made in this book to reconstruct the history of the Pārada people, as far as possible, on the basis of some literary references and coins, a few of which have been brought to light for the first time. Unfortunately, the picture is not clear ; but that is no fault of the author because the material at our disposal is inadequate and the reading of some letters in the legends of the coins in question is not beyond doubt. We are not even sure about the origin of the name 'Pārada'. It is often associated with 'Parthia' though Parthians are called 'Pahlava' in the Nasik and Junagadh inscriptions of the second century A.D., and the *Manusmṛiti* (second or third century A.D.) make a distinction between the Pāradas and the Pahlavas who are mentioned side by side in the same list of foreigners known to the Indians and probably settled in North-Western India. In the geographical section of the Purāṇas, the river Cakṣu (i.e. Varṅksu or Oxus) is described as watering the lands of the Pahlavas and the Pāradas, which are both located in Udīcya or Uttarāpatha. The first of the above statements seems to suggest that the country of the Pāradas was not very far away from the territory watered by the Oxus and its tributaries and branches. The learned author however, discusses evidences suggesting the location of the Pāradas in the coastal area of the Las Bela District of Baluchistan, while Oppert long ago located them in Northern Baluchistan. Dr. Mukherjee further draws our attention to the *Mahābhārata*, II. 47.9-10, which, in his opinion, mentions the Pāradas as born near the sea and as living in the tract lying to the west of the Indus (p. 45). The epic reference is, however, to the *Paradaś-ca Vahgaś-ca*,

and the inclusion of the Vaṅgas of Eastern India in the list seems to suggest that the Samudranikaṭajāta and Parisindhuvāsīn were two other peoples different from the Pāradas and Vaṅgas. It is difficult to locate a Vaṅga country in Uttarāpatha even though such an attempt has been recently made.

The learned author has ably discussed a number of controversial problems and we find it difficult to agree with him on some of them. One such problem (cf. also his *An Agrippan Source—A Study of Indo-Parthian History*, pp. 75, etc.) relates to the intervening period between king Hermaeus and Kujala Kadphises. In Dr. Mukherjee's opinion, 'the earliest possible date for Hermaeus can be placed as early as in the closing decades of the second century B. C. and ... Kujala (sic) Kadphises probably did not end his rule before the first century A.D.' (p. 99). We are, however, not satisfied with the evidence regarding the early date for Hermaeus, the last Indo-Greek king of the Kabul valley, whose reign we are inclined to place about a century later.

We recommend Dr. Mukherjee's book to the students of early Indian history.

D. C. SIRCAR

XCV

STUDIES IN ANCIENT INDIAN SEALS by Kiran Kumar Thaplyal, published by Akhil Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow, 1972; pages 350 (excluding Bibliography, pp. 351-74; Index, pp. 375-417; List of Illustrations, pp. 418-35) with 36 plates; price Rs. 100.00.

The book under review 'is a study of seals and sealings of Northern India from circa third century B. C. to mid-seventh century A. D.' The author deserves our congratulations for making a serious attempt to study the seals from different angles. It is a well-written book and is, so far, the only work that exclusively deals with seals.

There are altogether eight chapters and four appendices. In Chapter I (The Seals), the author initiates us into the subject. In India, the terms, 'seal' and 'sealing' have been used by different scholars in different senses. Thaplyal discusses this point and tries to solve the problem of nomenclature; but he is, to some extent, confused about the proper connotation of the term 'seal'. According to him, a sealing may also contain 'religious formula, ethical or religious'. In India such tokens are called 'votive seals'; but strictly speaking, they are not seals. Henri Frankfort, Fleet and others have very clearly given their opinion on this point.

Chapter II (Tribal and Monarchical States) gives us a long list of tribes and kings whose seals have been found. Thaplyal claims that he has utilised the evidence of unpublished seals also, and we searched in his

book for descriptions of some seals, which are vague in the source books. For example, Hirananda Sastri has not described the seal of Bhagavācandra, but has simply offered his views on this very important seal which should have been published. Unfortunately, Thaplyal also has failed to satisfy us.

Chapter III, which deals with 'Polity and Administration', discusses royal epithets, official designations and administrative divisions. Chapter IV is a study of 'Religion and Iconography'. The author remarks that anthropomorphic representations of Viṣṇu on seals are extremely rare. However, without depending on J. N. Banerjia, if he would have looked at the plates in the *MAI*, No. 66, he could add at least another seal depicting Viṣṇu from Nalanda.

Chapter V is a discussion on 'Economic Life and Organisation'. His suggestions about *nigamas* are not convincing. In the present context, *nigama* probably denotes town *pañcāyats* presided over by the Śreṣṭhins or Sārthavāhas or Kulikas. [See above, Vol. II, p. 261; Sircar, *Studies in the Political and Administrative Systems of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 264. —Ed.]

Chapter VI (Education and Educational Institutions) deal with Brāhmanical and Buddhist seals throwing light on the topics. Chapter VII (Art and Art Motifs) is an artistic appreciation of the seals. Chapter VIII deals with 'Names and their Import'. In the Appendix to the Chapter, there is a list of proper names found on seals.

In Appendix A, the author has alphabetically arranged the names of shrines, monasteries and administrative divisions and has given their identification wherever possible. Appendix B deals with non-sectarian mottoes. Appendix C is a study of coin-devices on the seals. Appendix D deals with literary references to seals.

The printing of the book is good.

SM. CHITRAREKHA GUPTA

XCVI

CORPUS OF THE INSCRIPTIONS OF JAVA UP TO 928 A. D. (CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM JAVANICARUM) by Himansu Bhusan Sarkar, published by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, Vol. I (1971), pages 25+314; and Vol. II (1972), pages 359.

India boasts of the expansion of her culture in South-East Asia; but only a few attempts have been made on the part of Indian historians to assess the relationship between the two regions in the light of archaeological evidence and epigraphical records. Sri H. B. Sarkar is one of those few scholars who have devoted their life to the study of Indian influence on the

culture of Indonesia. The present work is a product of the author's researches in Javanese inscriptions. We are highly indebted to him for presenting us a work of this kind. In India, there is usually a dearth of foreign books and journals and this hampers a proper study of the history of South-East Asia. So far as Java is concerned, Sarkar's book would remove this difficulty to a considerable extent.

One hundred and twelve inscriptions have been ably edited with detailed notes about the earlier writings on them. There is an introduction which, though useful, could have been more informative and comprehensive.

A difficulty felt by the reader of the work is the absence of facsimiles of the epigraphic records edited. The learned author himself speaks of doubts about the reading of many passages (and also of their interpretation); but there is no way to verify the reading.

There are three appendices. Appendix I is a register of personal names, official and cognate titles, divine or supernatural beings, etc. We have found the register not very easy to utilise. The author writes: "The first number indicates the number of the inscription, the second the plate number and the third the number of the line." As we have already said, there is no plate in this book, so we do not understand what he means by 'plate-number'.

Appendix B is a register of Geographical, Ethnic, Archaeological, Scriptural Terms, etc. Appendix C is a list of important old Javanese words with their meanings. This section would be very helpful to a student of Javanese inscriptions.

There are misprints. A book of this kind required to be printed with greater care.

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EDITORIAL NOTE. Wherever the author has quoted the text of a copper-plate inscription, he has indicated in the left margin both the number and face of the inscribed plates. There is thus no real difficulty in utilising the Index. It is of course very difficult to publish facsimiles of all the inscriptions contained in such a big work under present circumstances; but our indebtedness to the author and the publishers, which is already great, would indeed have been more considerable if a few representative inscriptions could have been illustrated in order to show the development of the local writings from the Indian Brāhmī.

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Page 4, line 9.	Read— <i>Mmaheśvaraḥ</i>
" 19, note 28.	Read—A. Leclerc
" 35, note 79.	Omit—in the press
" 47, line 24.	Read—Professor H. Haertel
" 51, note 13, line 6.	Read—pp. 79-80
" 72, note 69.	Read—above, Vol. I,
" 97, note 231.	Read—'accept or pay'
" 113, line 10.	Read—Seuṇacandra
" 177, note 28.	Add—Uśanas (vv. 26-27) mentions the Bhīṣak born of the Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriyā and dealing with medicine, astronomy, astrology and calculations.
" 189, line 12.	Read— <i>Acyuta</i>
" 190, lines 27-28.	Read— <i>bibhratiṃ</i>
" 197, line 22.	Add— <i>Pracaṇḍacaṇḍikā</i>
" 197, line 30.	Read— <i>villocanāṃ</i>
" 198, line 24.	Read— <i>Devīm</i>
" 203, line 6.	Read—adorn
" 204, line 19.	Read— <i>tanuṃ</i>
" 232, line 22.	Read— <i>bhūṣaṇām</i>
" 234, line 5.	Read—arful
" 266, line 12.	Read— <i>āsavaḥ</i>
" 270, line 1.	Read— <i>nodbhi-n</i>
" 274, line 6.	Read— <i>Vāgdevatā</i>
" 275, line 26.	Read— <i>āmbhojair=</i>
" 288, line 23.	Read—D. C.
" 304, line 9.	Read—mountain
" 309, line 19.	Read—Rāmacandra's
" 309, line 20.	Read—2 for 3
" 309, line 33.	Read—3 for 4
" 310.	Read—310 for 810
" 310, line 23.	Read—4 for 5
" 310, line 40.	Read—5 for 6
" 311, line 35.	Read—reckonings
" 312, line 8.	Read—their
" 312, line 25.	Read— <i>Viṣṇoḥ</i>

- " 339, line 11. *Add*—For foreign trade in ancient India, cf. *JBRS*, Vol. LVII, 1971, pp. 21 ff.
- " 339, line 21. *Add*—Note the recent discovery of 3000 Magha copper coins and the mention of punch-marked coins by Buddhaghoṣa in the fifth century A. D.
- " 363, left line 40. *Read*—Aravalli range
- " 363, right line 41, *Read*—Aurangzeb
- " 364, left line 23. *Read*—Bāla-Gopāla
- " 366, left line 28. *Read*—*Brahmayāivarta*
- " 367, right line 22. *Read*—Collyrium
- " 367, right line 33. *Read*—Dāhina-deśa

REPRINT

ANCIENT HISTORY OF INDIA

Carmichael Lectures, 1918

D. R. BHANDARKAR

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LECTURE I

ARYAN COLONISATION

OF SOUTHERN INDIA AND CEYLON.

I propose to open my first series of lectures as Carmichael Professor with the history of the pre-Maurya period, *i.e.*, of the period extending from about 650 to 325 B. C. It is true that we do not know much about the political history of this period ; but political history cannot be the whole history of any country. Again, it is the administrative, social, religious and ethnological history which is of much greater importance and far transcends political history in point of human interest and edification. And, for the construction of this history for the period we have selected, we have sufficient materials. We have works of the Sūtra period relating both to Law and Grammar. We have thus the Dharmaśāstras of Baudhāyana, Gautama, Āpastamba and so forth, and the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini and Kātyāyana's supplementary aphorisms or *Vārttikas* on it. Further, it was prior to the rise of the Mauryas that the Buddha lived and preached. And there is a general consensus of opinion among scholars that all the earlier works of the Buddhist Pali canon were put together in the period to which we are confining ourselves.* Let us, therefore, utilise these materials and try to see how India was socially, religiously and even politically from 650 to 325 B.C.

* [This is not strictly correct.—D. C. S.]

The principal characteristic of this period is the completion of the colonisation of Southern India and Ceylon by the Aryans, and this forms the subject of to-day's lecture. It is worthy of note that the southern half of India was called *Dakṣiṇāpatha* which means 'Road to the South'. Already in a Vedic hymn,¹ although it is one of the latest, we meet with an expression *dakṣiṇā padā*, meaning 'with southward foot', and used with reference to a man who is expelled to the south. This cannot of course denote the *Dakṣiṇāpatha* or Southern India as we understand it, but rather the country lying beyond the region then inhabited by the Aryans. It was in the Brāhmaṇa period, however, that they for the first time seem to have crossed the Vindhya range which separates the southern from the northern half of India. In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*,² e.g., a prince named Bhīma is designated *Vaidarbha*, 'prince of Vidarbha'. This shows that the Aryans had come down below the Vindhya and settled in Vidarbha or Western Berars immediately to the south of this mountain range. The same Brāhmaṇa³ represents the sage Viśvāmitra to have adopted Śunahṣepa as his son and named him Devarāta, much to the annoyance of fifty of his sons who in consequence were cursed by their father to 'live on the borders' of the province then occupied by the Aryans. The descendants of these sons of Viśvāmitra, the Brāhmaṇa further tells us, formed the greater bulk of the Dasyus and were variously known as Andhras, Puṇḍras, Śabarās, Pulindas and Mūtibas.³ Of these the Andhras, Pulindas and Śabarās at any rate are known from the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* and the Purāṇas to have been tribes of Southern India; and though the exact provinces in-

1. *Rgveda*, X. 61. 8.

2. VII. 34. 9.

3. VII. 17-18; also *S'āṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, xx. 26. [The *S'āṅkhāyana Śr. S.* gives the last name as Mūcīpa or Mūvīpa—D. C. S.]

habited by them in the time of the *Altareya Brāhmaṇa* cannot be definitely settled, it cannot for a moment be doubted that they lived to the south of the Vindhya* and that the Aryans had already come in contact with these Nonaryan peoples.

Let us now see what we learn from Pāṇini, the founder of the most renowned School of Grammar and who lived about 500 B.C. ** In his *Sūtras* or grammatical aphorisms, he shows an extensive knowledge of the ancient geography of India. Most of the countries, places and rivers mentioned by him are, of course, to be found in the Punjab and Afghanistan. Belonging to India farther south, he mentions Kaccha (IV. 2. 133), Avanti (IV. 1. 176), Kosala (IV. 1. 171) and Kaliṅga (IV. 1. 170). But he makes no mention of any province to the south of the Narmadā except that of Aśmaka (IV. 1. 173).*** One of the oldest works of Pāli Buddhist literature, the *Suttanipāṭa*⁴ speaks of a Brāhmaṇa *guru* called Bāvarin as having left the Kosala country and settled near a village on the Godhāvarī (Godāvarī) in the Assaka (Aśmaka) territory in the Dakkhiṇāpatha (Dakṣiṇāpatha). The story tells us that Bāvarin sent his sixteen pupils to pay their homage to the Buddha and confer with him. The route by which they proceeded northwards is also described.⁵ First, they went to Paṭiṭṭhāna of the Muḷaka⁶ country, then to Māhissatī, to Ujjeni,

* [The Puṇḍras, later found in North Bengal, do not appear to have lived near the Andhras.—D. C. S.]

** [Pāṇini is now often assigned to the 5th century B. C.—D. C. S.]

*** It is not improbable that these Aśmakas lived in the north-western part of the Indian sub-continent. Cf. the Assacenians located by the Greeks in the Swat valley.—D. C. S.]

4. Vs. 976-77. [The *Suttanipāṭa* is probably not earlier than the 3rd century B. C.—D. C. S.]

5. *Ibid.*, Vs. 1011-13.

6. In the text of the *Suttanipāṭa* edited by V. Fausboell, the reading *Alaka* is adopted (Vs. 977 and 1011), and the variant *Muḷaka* is noticed in the foot-notes. There can, however, be no doubt that *Muḷaka* is the

Gonaddha,⁷ Vedisa and Vanasahvaya ; to Kosambi, Sākeṭa and Sāvattthi (capital of the Kosala country) ; to Setavya, Kapilavatthu and Kusināra ; to Pāvā, Vesālī (capital of Magadha),* and finally to the Pāsāṇaka Cetiya where the Buddha then was. The description of this route is very important in more ways than one. In the first place, it will be seen that Bāvarin's settlement was much to the south of Paṭiṭṭhāna, i.e. Paithan in the Nizam's territory,** because Paṭiṭṭhāna was the principal town of the Muḷaka province, to the South of which was the Aśmaka country where Bāvarin then was. Secondly, it is worthy of note that Bāvarin's disciples went to North India straight through the Vindhya. This disproves the theory of some scholars who hold that the Aryans were afraid of crossing the Vindhya and went southwards to the Deccan by an easterly

correct reading. We know of no country of the name Aḷaka. Muḷaka, on the other hand, is well known. Thus in the celebrated Nasik cave inscription of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvi, the Muḷaka country has been associated with Asaka (Aśmaka), exactly as it has been done in the *Suttanipāta* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 60). The same country seems to have been mentioned as Maulika by Varāhamihira in his *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (XIV. 8).

7. Considering that the Godāvarī has been called Godhāvarī in the *Suttanipāta*, Gonaddha can very well be taken to stand for Gonadda-Gonarda, the place from which Patañjali, author of the *Mahābhāṣya*, hailed. R. G. Bhandarkar has shown on the authority of the *Mahābhāṣya* that Sāketa was situated on the road from Gonarda to Pāṭaliputra (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 70). This is exactly in accordance with what the *Suttanipāta* says, for Sāketa, according to the route taken by Bāvarin's pupils, was on the way from Gonaddha to the Magadha country. The native place of Patañjali was, therefore in Central India somewhere between Ujjain and Besnagar near Bhilsa. [For Gonarda, see Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, 2nd ed., pp. 264 ff. 'Bhilsa' has now been changed to 'Vidisha'. Read *Setavyā* and *Kusināra*.—D. C. S.]

* [Vesālī (Vaiśālī) was the capital of Magadha for sometime during Siśunāga's reign. In the age of the Buddha, Magadha had its capital at Rājagṛha.—D. C. S.]

** [Now in the Aurangabad District of Maharashtra.—D. C. S.]

detour round the mountain range.⁸ After leaving Paṭiṭhāna or Paithan, we find the party reaching Māhissatī, i.e. Māhiṣmatī, which has been correctly identified with Māndhātā on the Narmadā on the borders of the Indore State.⁹ Evidently, Bāvarin's pupils must have passed to Māhiṣmatī, i.e., to the other side of the Vindhya through the Vidarbha country.

Let us now turn to Pāṇini and the School of Grammar that he founded. We have seen that Aśmaka is the only country in the Deccan which he mentions. The case, however, is different with Kātyāyana who wrote aphorisms called *Vārtika* to explain and supplement Pāṇini and who has been assigned to the middle of the 4th century B.C. Now, to a Pāṇinian *Sūtra* : *Janapada-śabdāt kṣatriyād=añ* (IV. I. 168), Kātyāyana adds the *Vārtika* : *Pāṇḍor=dyañ*, from which we obtain the form *Pāṇḍya*,¹⁰ If this *Vārtika* had not been made, we should have had the form not *Pāṇḍya* but *Pāṇḍava*. Again we have a *Sūtra* of Pāṇini : *Kambojāl=luk* (IV. 1. 175) which lays down that the word Kamboja denotes not only the Kamboja country or the Kamboja tribe, but also the Kamboja king. But then there are other words which are exactly like *Kamboja* in this respect, but which Pāṇini has not mentioned. Kātyāyana is, therefore, compelled to supplement the above *Sūtra* with the *Vārtika* : *Kamboj-ādibhyo lug-vacanañ Coḍ-ādy-artham*. This means

8. See, e.g., *Early History of the Dekkan* (2nd ed.), p. 9.

9. *JRAS*, 1910, pp. 445-46. [According to some, it is modern Maheshwar in the East Nimar Dist., Madhya Pradesh.—D. C. S.]

10. I am not yet in a position to determine finally whether this is a *Vārtika* of Kātyāyana or a supplement of Patañjali. R. G. Bhandarkar in his *Early History of the Dekkan* (pp. 7-8, note 3) adopts the former view, whereas the text of Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, as edited by Kielhorn in the Bombay Sanskrit Series, inclines one to the latter view. Even if this last proves ultimately to be the correct view, this in no way vitiates my main conclusion, because, as the Pāṇḍyas are referred to both by Megasthenes in his *Indika* and by Aśoka in his Rock Edicts, their immigration to and settlement in South India were complete long before the rise of the Maurya power.

that like *Kamboja* the words *Coda*, *Kaḍera* and *Kerala* denote each not only the country and the tribe, but also the king. It will thus be seen that *Coda* and *Kerala*, which are obviously countries situated in Southern India, were known to Kātyāyana but not to Pāṇini. Of course, no sane scholar who has studied the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* will be so bold as to assert that Pāṇini was a careless or ignorant grammarian. But we have not one word, but at least three words, viz., *Pāṇḍya*, *Coda* and *Kerala*, the formation of which has not been explained by Pāṇini, and any accurate and thorough-going grammarian would have done it if they had been known to him. The only legitimate conclusion that can, therefore, be drawn is that the names of these southern countries were not known to Pāṇini, or in other words, were not known to the Aryans in the seventh century B. C., but were known to them shortly before the middle of the fourth century B. C. when Kātyāyana lived. As regards Ceylon or Tāmraparṇī as it was called in ancient days, it was certainly known to the Aryans long before the rise of the Maurya power. It has been mentioned not only by Aśoka as Tambaparni in his Rock Edict XIII, but also as Taprobane by Megasthenes¹¹ who, as most of you are aware, was the ambassador sent by Seleucus Nicator of Syria to the court of Candragupta, founder of the Maurya dynasty and grandfather of Aśoka. Contemporaneously with Megasthenes lived Kauṭilya, who in his *Arthaśāstra*¹² speaks of pearls being found among other places in the Tāmraparṇī

11. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, P. 129.

12. Ed. Shama Sastry, p. 75. For the river Tāmraparṇī, see further in the sequel. See also Aśoka's Rock Edict II. Kauṭilya's Pāṇḍya-kavāṭaka seems to be the same as Pāṇḍya-vāṭaka or Pāṇḍya-vāṭabhava of the *Bṛhat-samhitā* (80. 2 and 6). Mahendra here seems to be the most southerly spur of the Travancore Hills (*JRAS*, 1894, p. 262). [The *Rāmāyaṇa*, IV. 41, mentions the Tāmraparṇī river, then the *yuktam Kavāṭam Pāṇḍyānām* and then Mt. Mahendra. See Sircar, *Cosm. Geog. E. Ind. Lit.* p. 62. Aśoka's RE II and XIII mention the same Tāmraparṇī.—D. C. S.]

river, in Pāṇḍya-kavāṭaka, and near the Mahendra mountain—all situated on the extremity of the Southern Peninsula.

Now, the name of one of these southern kingdoms was Coda, which was called Coṛa in Tamil and Coḷa in Telugu.* The people also were called by the same name. I cannot resist the temptation of saying that it is from this Coḷa people that the Sanskrit word *cora* meaning 'a thief' has been derived. An exactly analogous instance we have in the word *Dasyu* or *Dāsa*, which originally denoted the Dahae people of the Caspian Steppes,¹³ but which even in the Vedic period acquired a derogatory sense and soon after signified 'a robber'. If *Dasyu* thus originally was the name of a Nonaryan tribe and used in the sense of 'a robber', it is perfectly intelligible that the name of another Nonaryan people, viz., the Coṛas, was similarly employed to express a similar meaning. And this seems to have been the case, because the Vedic terms for a thief are *taskara*, *tāyu*, *stena* and *paripanthin*, but never *cora*, this word being for the first time found in the *Taittiriya Aranyaka*¹⁴ which is a late work. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that, in Latin and Greek also, there is no word, signifying 'a thief', which corresponds to *cora* in sound.

The case, however, was different in regard to the name of the other people, viz., Pāṇḍya. Kātyāyana, we have seen, derives it from *Pāṇḍu*. This shows that the Pāṇḍyas were an Aryan tribe, and not an alien tribe like the Colas or Coṛas. Now, a Greek writer called Pliny tells us a tradition about these Pāṇḍyas, on the authority of Magasthenes, that they were descended from Pandaea, the only daughter of the Indian Hercules, i.e., of Kṛṣṇa. She went away from the country of the Śaurarenas whose principal towns were Methora or

* [This does not seem to be accurate.—D. C. S.]

3. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, Vol. I, p. 95; E. Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, Vol. 28, p. 214.

4. X. 65. [Cf. *caura*=*cora* in Pāṇini, V. 2.113; also *cwr* in III.1.25.—D. C. S.]

Mathurā and Cleisobora or Kṛṣṇapura, and was assigned by her father just 'that portion of India which lies southward and extends to the sea'.¹⁵ It is thus clear that the Pāṇdyas were connected with the north and were an Aryan race. The account given by Megasthenes, however, like many traditions of this nature, is to be regarded as a combination of both truth and fiction. In the first place no authority from any epic or Purāṇa is forthcoming to show that Kṛṣṇa had a daughter and of the name of Pāṇdyā. Secondly, though Mathurā is connected with the infancy of Kṛṣṇa, he lived as a ruler, not at Mathurā but at Dvārakā from where alone he could send his daughter. These are, therefore, the elements of fiction that got mixed up with the immigration of the Pāṇdyas. What appears to be the truth is that there was a tribe called Pāṇḍu round about Mathurā, and that when a section of them went southwards and were settled there, they were called Pāṇḍya. This is clear, I think, from Kātyāyana's *Vārttika* : *Pāṇḍor - dyaṇ*, which means that the suffix *ya* was to be attached not to Pāṇḍu, the name of the father of the Pāṇḍavas, but to Pāṇḍu, which was the name of a Kṣatriya tribe as well as of a country. Evidently Pāṇḍya denotes the descendants of the Pāṇḍu tribe, and must have been so called when they migrated southwards and established themselves there.¹⁶ Nay, we have got evidence to show that there was a tribe called Pāṇḍu. Ptolemy, who wrote the geography of India about 150 A. D., speaks not only of the kingdom of Pandion or Pāṇḍya, but also of the country of the Pandououi in the Punjab.¹⁷ These Pandououi can be no other than the Pāṇḍu people. Again,

15. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 249-50, 344.

16. We also meet with similar *taddhita* forms in later history. Thus we have instances of early tribes being called Calukya, Kadamba and so forth whose descendants later on came to be called Cālukya, Kādamba and so on. [This is not strictly accurate.—D. C. S.]

17. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 331, 349.

Varāhamihira, the celebrated astronomer, who flourished about the middle of the 6th century A.D., makes mention of a tribe called Pāṇḍu and places them in Madhyadeśa.¹⁸ There can, therefore be no doubt about the existence of a people called Pāṇḍu. And as according to Varāhamihira they were somewhere in Madhyadeśa, it is quite possible that, in the time of Megasthenes, they were settled round about Mathurā. Megasthenes' statement that the Pāṇḍyas of the south were connected with the Jamuna and Mathurā seems to be founded on fact, because the Greek writers, Pliny and Ptolemy, tell us that the capital of the Pāṇḍyas in the south was Modoura,¹⁹ i. e., Madura, the principal town of the district of the same name in the Madras Presidency. The fact that the Pāṇḍyas of the south called their capital Madhurā clearly shows that they came from the north from some country whose capital was Mathurā and thus gives remarkable confirmation to what Megasthenes has told us. This is quite in accordance with the practice of the colonists naming the younger towns or provinces after the older.*

We thus see that an Aryan tribe called Pāṇḍu went southwards, and occupied the southernmost part of the peninsula, where they were known as Pāṇḍya and their capital as Madhurā or Mathurā. But the story of the migrations of this enterprising Aryan tribe does not end here. We have to note that there is a third Maṭura in Ceylon, and also a fourth Madura

18. *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, XIV. 3.

*[Like *Pāṇḍava*, the word *Pāṇḍu* may also mean 'the scion of Pāṇḍu'. It is to be noted that early Greek writers place king Porus (i.e. Puru or Paurava) in the region where Ptolemy locates the Pāṇḍu people and, in the *Mahābhārata*, Pāṇḍu is a descendant of Puru. Moreover, there is an early Jain tradition regarding the foundation of Pāṇḍu-Mathurā by the five Pāṇḍava brothers (Mehta and Chandra, *Prakrit Proper Names*, Vol. I, p. 424). The present name of 'Madras Presidency' is 'Tamilnadu'.—D. C. S.]

19. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 268.

in the Eastern Archipelago.²⁰ The natural conclusion is that the Pāṇdyas did not rest satisfied with occupying the extreme southern part of the Peninsula, but went farther southward and colonised Ceylon also. For, as just stated, the Pāṇdyas no doubt appear to have come from Mathurā, the capital of the Śaurasena country as told by Megasthenes, because this alone can explain why they gave the name Mathurā to the capital of their new kingdom situated at the south end of India. And the fact that we have another Mathurā in Ceylon shows that the Pāṇdyas alone could go there and have a third capital of this name. Besides, as the Pāṇdyas occupied the southern extremity of India, it was they who could naturally be expected to go and settle themselves in Ceylon. But they seem to have gone there, not from the Madura but from the Tinnevely District.* I have told you that the ancient name of Ceylon was Tāmrarnī; but we have to remember that Tāmrarnī was the name of a river also.²¹ This doubtless is the present river Tāmrarnī in the Tinnevely District. Scholars have no doubt tacitly admitted that there was a connection somehow between this river and Ceylon; but this connection can be rendered intelligible only on the supposition that the Tinnevely District was called Tāmrarnī after the river, just as Sindhu or Sind was named after the river Sindhu or Indus. In

20. Caldwell, *Comp. Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, Intro., p. 16.

*[Now called Madurai and Tirunelveli.—D. C. S.]

21. *Mahābhārata*, III. 88. 15. That the Pāṇdyas held the Madura District is quite certain, because it was the territory immediately round about Madhurā, their capital. That they held also the Tinnevely District is clear from what Ptolemy and the author of the *Periplus* tell us about the Pāṇdyā kingdom (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 331). Northwards their rule seems to have extended as far as the highlands in the neighbourhood of the Coimbatore gap. Its western boundary was formed by the southern range of the Ghats. That the Aryans had occupied the Tinnevely District at this time is evident from the fact that we have here not only the sacred river Tāmrarnī, but also the sacred place Agastya-tīrtha—both mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*.

that case, it is intelligible that when the Pāṇḍyas went to Ceylon, they named it Tāmraparṇī after the country they had left. Again, coming as they did from the Tinnevely District, they would naturally land in the north-western part of the Island. And it is quite in keeping with this supposition that we find the ancient civilised and populous district of Ceylon, the so-called Kalah, located not in the south, east or north-east, but in the north-west part of the Island.²²

Let us now see how the Aryan colonisation of Southern India must have been accomplished. We know that when the Aryans migrated in ancient times from Afghanistan and the Punjab to the different parts of Northern India, they did so under the leadership of Kṣatriya tribes, and hence their new settlements were called after the names of those tribes. A curious legend in this connection is worth quoting from the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* from which it would appear that, when the Aryans pushed forward to the east of the Sarasvatī, they were led by Māthava the Videgha, and his priest.²³ They went at first as far east as the Sadānīrā which formed the boundary between Kośala and Videha and which therefore corresponds to the Little Gandak of the present day.²⁴ For some time they did not venture to cross this river. They did, however, cross it, and, at the time when the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* was composed, were settled to the east of it in a province called Videha no doubt after the name of the tribe to which the king Māthava belonged. Nay, we have Pāṇini's authority to that effect; thus, according to him, *Pañcalānām nivāso janapadaḥ Pāñcalah*, i.e., the word *Pāñcalah* denotes the country or kingdom which the Kṣatriya tribe called Pāñcala occupied. What happened in North India must have happened in South India also. I have already referred to the tribe

22. *Journ. Ceylon Br. R. A. Soc.*, Vol. VII, pp. 57 ff.

23. *SBE*, Vol. XII, pp. xli ff., 104 ff.

24. *JRAS*, 1907, p. 644.

called Pāṇḍu who were settled in the southernmost part of India and after whom it was called Pāṇḍya. This was certainly a Kṣatriya tribe. Again, we have a passage in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, viz., *Dāṇḍakyo nāma Bhojaḥ kāmāt Brāhmaṇa-kanyām = abhimanayamānas = sa-bandhu-rāṣṭro vīnanāsa* (a Bhoja known as Dāṇḍakya or king of Dāṇḍakā, making a lascivious attempt on a Brāhmaṇa girl, perished along with his relations and kingdom).²⁵ Bhoja was, of course, the name of a Kṣatriya tribe, as we know from the *Mahābhārata* and *Harivaṃśa*.²⁶ And a prince of this tribe is here said to have been a ruler of Dāṇḍakā, which is another name for Mahārāṣṭra'.²⁷ As all the incidents which Kauṭilya mentions along with that of Dāṇḍakya Bhoja took place long before his time and as he himself was, we know, the prime minister of Candragupta, founder of the Maurya dynasty, and consequently lived at the close of the fourth century B.C., it appears that the Bhojas must have taken possession of Mahārāṣṭra, at least in the fifth century B.C., if not earlier. I have already told you that the Buddhist work *Suttanipāṭa* speaks of Patitṭhāna or Paithaṇ in the Nizam's Dominions.* But there was an older Patitṭhāna or Pratiṣṭhāna on the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamuna, which was the capital of Aila Purūravas.²⁸ The practice of naming the younger town after the older one is universal, and is well known even in the colonies of European nations. I have already quoted an instance from India, viz., that of Mathurā. And Pratiṣṭhāna is but another instance. It thus seems that, on the bank of the Godāvarī, we had a colony from the country, of which the older Pratiṣṭhāna was the capital, and it is pro-

25. *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra* (Bibliotheca Sanskrita, No. 37), p. 11.

26. *Mahābhārata*, I. 85. 34; II. 14. 6; VI. 9. 40; *Harivaṃśa*, 1895, 8816, 12838.

27. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 4.

* [Now in Maharashtra. — D. C. S.]

28. Wilson, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, III. 237; *Vikramorvaśiṣya* (BSPS ed.), p. 41. It is believed to be the present Jhusi opposite the Allahabad fort.

bable that we have here a colony of the Aila tribe.²⁹ Even as late as the third century A. D., we find North Indian Aryan tribes or families going southwards and settling themselves somewhere in Southern India. A Buddhist *stūpa* has been discovered at Jagayyapeṭa in the Kistna District, Madras.* We have got here at least three inscriptions of this period, which refer themselves to the reign of king Mātharīputra Śrī Virapuruṣadatta of the Ikṣvāku family.³⁰ This indicates that the Kistna and adjoining Districts were held in the third century A. D. by the Ikṣvākus³¹ who certainly must have come from the north. We know that Rāma, the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, belonged to the Ikṣvāku race. So did the Buddha, the founder of Buddhism. The Ikṣvākus are also mentioned in the Purāṇas as a historical royal dynasty ruling in North India. The Ikṣvākus of the Kistna District must, therefore, have come from the north.

It is true that the Aryan civilisation was thus to a certain

29. In the *Mahābhārata* are mentioned both the Aila-vaṁśa (I. 94. 65) and the Aila-vaṁśīyas (II. 14. 4). The Ailas are mentioned also in the Purāṇas.

* [Now Krishna District, Andhra Pradesh.—D. C. S.]

30. Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions, etc.*, Nos. 1202-04. [We have now many more inscriptions of several kings of this family.—D. C. S.]

31. It is not at all unlikely that Mātharīputra Śrī Virapuruṣadatta was a prince of Dakṣiṇa-Kosala which, in the third century A. D., may have extended as far as the east coast. We know that Uttara-Kosala, with its capital at Sāketa or Ayodhyā, was ruled over by the Ikṣvākus, and it seems that when the Ikṣvākus spread themselves southwards, their new province also was called Kosala, *dakṣiṇa* being applied to it to distinguish it from their original territory which therefore became Uttara-Kosala. [Dakṣiṇa-] Kosala was certainly well-known in the fourth century A. D., as it is mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta and included in Dakṣiṇāpatha. [South Kosala was known to the Rāmāyaṇa tradition (cf. Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, 2nd ed., p. 270). Cf. also the name of 'Kausalyā', wife of a Kosala king of the Ikṣvāku race. She does not appear to have been born in the Ikṣvāku clan.—D. C. S.]

extent spread over Southern India through conquest. But this cannot be the whole cause. Causes of a pacific and more important nature must also have operated. We are so much accustomed to hear about the enterprising and proselytising spirit of the Buddhist and Jain monks that we are apt to think that Brāhmanism had never shown any missionary zeal. Is this, however, a fact? Did not the Brāhmaṇas or at any rate any of the hymn-composing families put forth any missionary effort and help in the dissemination of Aryan culture? I cannot help thinking that the ancient Ṛṣis were not mere passive inert thinkers, but were active though not aggressive propagators of their faith. Tradition, narrated in the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*, says that it was the Brāhmaṇa sage Agastya who first crossed the Vindhya range and led the way to the Aryan immigration.³² When Rāma began his southward march and was at Pañcavatī, Agastya was already to the south of the Vindhya and was staying in a hermitage about two *yojanas* from it. This is not all. We find him evermore penetrating farther and farther into the hitherto unknown south, and civilising the Dravidians. Nay, this is admitted by the Tamil people themselves. They make Agastya the founder of their language and literature and call him by way of eminence the *Tamīṣmuni* or Tamilian sage. They still point to a mountain in the Tinnevely District, which is commonly called by the English Agastier, *i. e.* Agastya's hill, 'Agastya being supposed to have finally retired thither from the world after civilising the Dravidians'.³³ I am not unaware that these are legends. It is, however, a mistake to suppose that legends teach us nothing historical. It may very well be doubted whether Agastya, as he figures in these legends, is a historical personality. But a man is certainly lacking the historical sense

32. *Mahābhārata*, III. 104; *Rāmāyaṇa*, III. 11. 85.

33. Caldwell, *op. cit.*, Intro., pp. 101, 119.

if he cannot read in these legends the historical truth that Ṛṣis took a most prominent but unobtrusive part in the Aryan colonisation and the diffusion of Aryan culture. The old Ṛṣis of India, I think, were as enthusiastic and enterprising in this respect as the Buddhist and Jain missionaries, and were often migrating with their host of pupils to distant countries. I shall take only one instance. I hope you remember the Brāhmaṇa guru Bāvarin, whom I mentioned earlier. His story appears in the *Suttanipāta*. He is described therein as perfect in the three Vedas. He had sixteen disciples all Brāhmaṇas, and each one of them again had his host of pupils. They all bore matted hair and sacred skins, and are styled Ṛṣis. With these pupils of his and the pupils' pupils, Bāvarin was settled on the bank of the Godāvarī in the Aśmaka territory, where he performed a sacrifice. He was thus settled on the confines of Dakṣiṇāpatha, as it was then known, if not beyond. And yet we are told that originally he was at Śrāvastī, capital of the Kosala country. He and his pupils had thus traversed at least 600 miles before they came and were settled on the Godāvarī. It will thus be seen that the Ṛṣis were in the habit of moving in large numbers and to long distances, and making their settlements where they performed sacrifices. This is exactly in keeping with what we gather from the *Rāmāyaṇa*. To the south of the Vindhya, we learn, there were many Brāhmaṇa anchorites who lived in hermitages at different places and performed their sacrifices before Rāma penetrated Daṇḍakāraṇya and commenced his career of conquest. There was an aboriginal tribe called Rākṣasa who disturbed the sacrifices and devoured the hermits and thus placed themselves in hostile opposition to the Brāhmaṇical institutions. On the other hand, under the designation of Vānara, we have another class of aborigines who allied themselves with the Brāhmaṇas and embraced their form of religious worship.

Even among the Rākṣasas, we have an exception in Vibhīṣaṇa, brother of Rāvaṇa, who is said to be *na tu Rākṣasa-ceṣṭitaḥ*.³⁴ 'not behaving himself like a Rākṣasa'. This was the state of things in Southern India when Rāma came there. It clearly shows that the Rṣis were always to the forefront in the work of colonising Southern India and introducing Aryan civilisation there. Amongst them, Agastya was the only Rṣi who fought the Rākṣasas and killed them. The other Rṣis, like true missionaries, never resorted to the practice of retaliation, though they believed, rightly or wrongly, that they had the power of ridding themselves of their enemy. One of them distinctly says to Rāma :

Kāmaṁ tapaḥ-prabhāveṇa śaktā hantuṁ nīśācarān |
cir-ārjitaṁ na c = ecchāmas = tapaḥ khaṇḍayituṁ vayam ||

"It is true that by the power of our austerities we could at will slay these goblins ; but we are unwilling to nullify [the merit of] our austerities."³⁵

And it was simply because, through genuine missionary spirit, the Rṣis refused to practise retaliation that Rāma, like a true Kṣatriya, intervened and waged war with the Rākṣasas. This noble spirit of the ancient Rṣis, manifested in their mixing with the aborigines and civilising them, is not seen from the *Rāmāyaṇa* only. It may also be seen from the story of the fifty of Viśvāmitra's sons, mentioned in the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa* and referred to at the beginning of this lecture. They strongly disapproved of his adoption of Śunaḥśepa, and were for that reason cursed by Viśvāmitra to live on the borders of the Aryan settlements. And their progeny, we are told, were the Andhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras and so forth. If we read the legend aright, it clearly indicates that even the scions of such an illustrious hymn-composing family as that of Viśvāmitra migrated southward boldly, and what is more, married and mixed freely with the

34. *Rāmāyaṇa*, III. 17. 22.

35. *Ibid.*, III. 10. 13-14.

aborigines, with the object of diffusing Aryan culture amongst them.

But by what routes did the Aryans penetrate South India? This question we have now to consider. The main route, I think, is the reverse of the one by which Bāvarin's pupils went to Magadha from Aśmaka. This was described by me earlier. The Aryan route thus seems to have lain through the Avanti country, the southernmost town of which was Māhisatī or Māndhātā on the Narmadā, from where the Aryans crossed the Vindhya and penetrated Southern India. They began by colonising Vidarbha from which they proceeded southwards first to the Muḷaka territory with its principal town Patitthāna or Paithan and from there to the Aśmaka country. By what route farther southward they immigrated is not clear; but the find-spots of Aśoka's inscriptions perhaps afford a clue. One copy of his Minor Rock Edicts has been found at Maski in the Lingsugur Taluk of the Raichur District, Nizam's Dominions,³⁶ and three more farther southward in the Chitaldrug District of the Mysore State.³⁷ A few Jain cave inscriptions have come to light also in the Madura District³⁸ and appear to belong to the second century B.C. and possibly earlier. As Aśoka's edicts and these cave inscriptions are in Pāli,* these certainly were the districts colonised by the Aryans. The Aryans thus seem to have gone south from the Aśmaka territory through the modern Raichur and Chitaldrug Districts, from where they must have gone to the Madura

36. *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. 1. p. 1. [It is now in the Mysore or Karnataka State. The monograph was rewritten by Sircar and published by the Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, in 1958. For Māhiṣmatī, cf. above, p. 5, note 9.—D. C. S.]

37. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI. Intro., p. 2.

38. *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for the year ending 31st March, 1932, p. 57. [The inscriptions may not be so early.—D.C.S.]

* [It is better to call it Prakrit.—D. C. S.]

District which was originally in the Pāṇḍya kingdom. This seems to agree with the tradition of their immigration preserved among the Tamil Brāhmaṇas. These Brāhmaṇas have a section called Bṛhaccarana which means the Great Immigration, and must refer to a large southward movement.³⁹ They are subdivided into Mazhnāḍu and Molagu. The Mazhnāḍu sub-section is further divided into Kandra-māṇikkam, Maṅgudi and Sathia-maṅgalam, etc., all villages along the Western Ghats—showing that, in their southward movement, they clung to the highlands and peopled the skirts of the present province of Mysore* and the Coimbatore and Madura Districts—a conclusion which agrees with that just drawn from the find-spots of Aśokan edicts and the cave inscriptions in Southern India.

Another route by which the Aryans seem to have gone to South India was by the sea. They appear to have sailed from the Indus to Kaccha, and from there by the sea-coast to Surāṣṭra or Kathiawar, from Kathiawar to Bharukaccha or modern Broach, and from Bharukaccha to Suppāraka or Sopārā in the Thānā District of the Bombay Presidency.** Baudhāyana, the author of a Dharmaśāstra,*** quotes a verse from the Bhāllavin School of Law, which tells us that the inhabitants of Sindhu, Sauvīra and Surāṣṭra, like those of the Deccan, were of mixed origin. This shows that the Aryans had begun colonising those parts. Towards the end of the period we have selected, they seem to have advanced as far south as Sopārā. But as already stated, they must have gone by the sea-route, because it is quite clear that no mention is trace-

39. *Ind. Ant.*, 1912, pp. 231-32.

* [I. e. the original Mysore State which now form the southern part of the present state of Mysore or Karnataka.—D. C. S.]

** [Now Maharashtra State.—D. C. S.]

*** [Better—Dharmaśūtra.—D. C. S.]

able of any inland countries or towns between the sea-coasts and the Deccan.⁴⁰

Now, wherever in India and Ceylon the Aryans penetrated, they introduced not only their civilisation, *i. e.* their religion, culture and social organisation, but also imposed their language on the aborigines. It is scarcely necessary for me to expatiate on the former point, for it is an indisputable fact that the Hindu civilisation that we see everywhere in India or Ceylon is essentially Aryan. You know about it as much and as well as I do. This point, therefore, calls for no remarks. In regard to the Aryan language, however, I cannot do better than quote the following opinion of George Grierson, an eminent linguist. "When an Aryan tongue", says he, "comes into contact with an uncivilized aboriginal one, it is invariably the latter which goes to the wall. The Aryans does not attempt to speak it, and the necessities of intercourse compelled the aborigines to use a broken 'pigeon' form of the language of a superior civilisation. As generations pass, this mixed jargon more and more approximates to its model, and in process of time, the old aboriginal language is forgotten and dies a natural death."⁴¹ I completely endorse this view of George Grierson except in one respect. This exception, you will at once see, is the Dravidian languages which are at present spoken in Southern India. It is, indeed, strange how the Aryan language failed to supplant the Dravidian speech in this part of India, though it most successfully did in Northern India where I have no doubt the Dravidian tongue prevailed

40. It will be stated further on in the text that no less than three Buddhist *stūpas* have been found in the Kistna District with quite a number of Pāli inscriptions showing that the Aryans had colonised that part. The question arises from where did the Aryans go there. They must have gone either from Kālīṅga or Āśmaka, most probably from the latter. See note 59 below. [For 'Kistna', better read 'Krishṇa', and for 'Pāli', better 'Prakrit'. —D. C. S.]

41. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. I, pp. 351-52.

before the advent of the Aryans. This will be seen from the fact that 'Brahui, the language of the mountaineers in the Khanship of Kelat in Beluchistan, contains not only some Dravidian words, but a considerable infusion of distinctively Dravidian forms and idioms'.⁴² The discovery of this Dravidian element in a language spoken beyond the Indus tends to show that the Dravidians, like the Aryans, the Scythians and so forth, must have entered India by the North-Western route. It is also a well-known fact, accepted by all scholars, that there are many Sanskrit words which are really Dravidian, and Kittel, in his Kannada-English Dictionary, gives a long list of them. But in compiling this list he seems to have drawn exclusively upon Classical Sanskrit which was never a *bhāṣā* or spoken language. At least one Dravidian word, however, is known from the Vedic literature, which is admitted to be composed in the language actually spoken by the people. The word I mean is *maṭaci* which occurs in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (1.10.1) in the passage *Maṭaci-hateṣu Kuruṣu āṣṭikyā saha jāyayā Uṣastir—ha Cākṛāyaṇa ibhya-grāme pradrāṇaka uvāsa*. Here evidently the devastation of the crops in the Kuru country by *maṭaci* is spoken of. All the commentators except one have wrongly taken *maṭaci* to mean 'hailstones'; but one commentator, who is an exception, rightly gives *rakta-varṇaḥ kṣudrapakṣi-viśeṣaḥ* as an alternative equivalent.⁴³ This shows that these 'red-coloured winged creatures' can be no other than locusts, and that it is they which laid waste the fields of the Kuru country as they do to the present day in every part of India. It is interesting to note that this explanation of the commentator is confirmed by the fact that *maṭaci* is a Sanskritised form of the well-known Canarese word *mīḍice* which is explained by Kittel's Dictionary as 'a grasshopper, a locust'

42. Caldwell, *Comp. Gram. of the Dravidian Languages*, Intro., pp. 43-44.

43. *JRAS*, 1911, p. 510.

and which is used in this sense to this day in the Dharwar District of the Bombay Presidency.⁴⁴ Scholars are unanimous on the point that the *Chândogya Upaniṣad* is one of the earliest of the Upaniṣads. Nobody doubts that this Upaniṣad was put together in the North of India, especially in the Punjab, and that the Sanskrit language in which it is composed represents the current speech of the day. And yet we find in it a term which is a genuinely Dravidian word. I have no doubt that more such will be forthcoming from the Vedic literature if scholars of the Dravidian languages undertake this task. And this will confirm the conclusion that the Dravidian tongue was prevalent in North India before the Aryans came and occupied it. The same conclusion is forced upon us by an examination of the vernaculars of North India. Take Bengali, for instance ; the words *Khokā* and *Khukī* which mean 'boy' and 'girl' in Bengali are nothing but the Oraon *Kokā* and *Kokī*. The Bengali *telo*, 'head',* is the Telugu *tā-lā* and Tamil *tā-lai*. *Nolā*, 'tongue', is Tamil *nālu*. The plural suffix *gul* is used in Tamil to denote 'many'. *Guli* and *gulā* are used for the same purpose in Bengali. Instances can be multiplied ;⁴⁵ but those given are enough, to show that even the vernacular Bengali, which bristles with Sanskrit and derivative words, is indebted to Dravidian languages for a pretty large portion of its vocabulary and structural peculiarities. What is strange is that Dravidian words have been traced also in Hindī speech. Even the commonest Hindī words *jhagḍā*, *āṭā* and so forth have been traced to Dravidian vocables.⁴⁶ No reasonable doubt can

44. *Ind. Ant.*, 1913, p. 235. [Now Mysore or Karnataka State. For 'Canarese', better read 'Kannada'.—D. C. S.]

* [Sanskrit *tālu* ; *brahmatālu* ; also cf. *tala* in *karatala*, etc. Better Telugu *tala*, Tamil *talai* and *gaḷ*.—D. C. S.]

45. For a detailed consideration of this subject, see B. C. Mazumdar, '*Bāṅgālābhāṣay Draviḍi Upādāna*, in *Vaṅḡya Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, Vol. XX, Part I.

46. *Ind. Ant.*, 1916, p. 16.

therefore be entertained as to the Dravidian speech once being spoken in North India.

We thus see that the Dravidian tongue was once spoken in North India, but was superseded by the Aryan, when the Aryans penetrated and established themselves there. It, therefore, becomes extremely curious how, in Southern India, the Aryan speech was not able to supplant the Dravidian. But here a question arises. Is it a fact that even in that part of the country no Aryan tongue was ever known or spoken by the aborigines after the Aryans came and were settled here? I take my stand on epigraphic records as they alone can afford irrefragable evidence on the subject. Let us first take the province whose vernacular at present is Telugu. The earliest inscriptions found here are those of Aśoka. Evidently I mean the version of his Fourteen Rock Edicts engraved at Jaugaḍa in the Ganjam District, the extreme north-east part of the Madras Presidency.* But I am afraid I cannot lay much stress upon it, because though Telugu is no doubt spoken in this district, Oriya is not unknown here, at any rate in the northern portion of it. And it is a well-known fact that, in a province where the ranges of any two languages or dialects meet, the boundary which divides one from the other is never permanently fixed, but is always changing. I shall not, therefore, refer here to the Fourteen Rock Edicts discovered in the Ganjam District, but shall come down a little southwards and select that district where none but a Dravidian language is spoken—I mean the Kistna District. Here no less than three Buddhist *stūpas* have been discovered, along with a number of inscriptions. The earliest of these is that at Bhaṭṭiprolu, the next is the celebrated one at Amarāvati, and the third is that at Jagayyapeta. The inscriptions connected with these

* [The Ganjam District is now in Orissa. The Erragudi and Rajula-māṇḍagiri edicts of Aśoka were later discovered in the Karnul District of the Telugu-speaking Andhra Pradesh. 'Kistna' is now 'Krishna'.—D. C. S.]

monuments are short donative records, specifying each the name and social status of the donor along with the nature of his gift. An examination of these records shows that people of various classes and statuses participated in this series of religious benefactions. We will here leave aside the big folk, such as those who belonged to the warrior or merchant class, and who, it might be contended, were the Aryan conquerors. We will also leave aside the monks and nuns, because their original social status is never mentioned in Buddhist inscriptional records. We have thus left for our consideration the people who are called *herañika* or goldsmiths, and, above all, the *cammakāras* or leather-workers. These at any rate cannot be reasonably supposed to form part of the Aryan people who were settled in the Kistna District, and yet we find that their names are clearly Aryan, showing that they imbibed the Aryan civilisation even to the extent of adopting their names. Thus, we have a goldsmith of the name of Sidhatha or Siddārtha, two leather-workers (father and son) of the names of Vidhiha or Vṛddhika and Nāga.⁴⁷ All these unmistakably are Aryan names; but this string of names does not stop here. We have yet to make mention of another individual who is named Kanha or Kṛṣṇa. This too is an Aryan name; but the individual, it is worthy of note, calls himself Damīla,⁴⁸ which is exactly the same as *Tamiḷ* or Sanskrit *Draviḍa*. And, in fact, this is the earliest word so far found signifying the Dravidian race. We thus see that as a result of the Aryan settlement in the Kistna District, the local people were so steeped in Aryan civilisation that they went even to the length of taking Aryan proper names to themselves. But could they understand or speak the Aryan tongue? Do the inscriptions found in the Kistna District throw any light on this point? Yes, they do,

47. *Arch. Surv. S. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 91, 102-03.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

because the language of these records is Pāli,⁴⁹ and Pāli, we know, is an Aryan speech. This clearly proves that an Aryan tongue was spoken in the Kistna District from at least 150 B.C. to 200 A. D.—the period to which the inscriptions belong. I am aware it is possible to argue that this Aryan language was spoken only by the Aryans who were settled there, and not necessarily by the people in general, and, above all, the lower classes. This argument is not convincing because it is inconceivable that earlier Buddhism, whose one aim was to be in direct touch with the masses, and which must have obtained almost all its converts of this district from all sorts and conditions of the indigenous people including the lowest classes, could adopt an Aryan tongue unless it was at least as well known to and actually spoken by the people in general as their home tongue. This inference is confirmed by the fact that three copies of what are called Aśoka's Minor Rock Edicts have been found in the Chitaldrug District of the Mysore State,⁵⁰ i.e. in the very heart of what is now the Canarese-speaking* province. One of these edicts enumerates the different virtues that constitute what Aśoka meant by *dhamma*, and the other exhorts all people especially those of low position to put forth strenuous endeavour after the highest life. All the inscriptions of Aśoka, especially these Edicts, had a very practical object in view. They were intended to be understood and pondered over by people of all classes, and as the language of these epigraphic

49. I use this term in the sense in which it has been taken by Francke in his *Pali und Sanskrit*. Perhaps this should have been styled 'monumental Pāli' to distinguish it from 'literary Pāli', i.e. the Pāli of the Buddhist scriptures. ['Prakrit' is here better than 'Pāli'. In the period in question, coins bear legend in Prakrit. The silver coins of the Śātavāhanas exhibit a kind of Dravidianised Prakrit. See Sircar, *Stud. Ind. Coins*, pp. 107 ff.—D. C. S.]

50. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Intro., pp. 1 ff. ['Chitaldrug' is 'Chitradurga'.—D. C. S.]

*[Better—Kannada-speaking. Prakrit may have been understood only by a section of the people in these areas.—D. C. S.]

records is Pāli, the conclusion is irresistible that, though perhaps it was not the home tongue, it could be spoken, at least well understood, by all people including the lower classes. But this is not all. We have got incontestable evidence that up to the 4th century A. D., Pāli was also the official language of the kings even in those provinces where Dravidian languages are now supreme. At least one stone inscription and five copper-plate charters have been found in these provinces, ranging from the second to the fourth or fifth century A. D. The stone inscription was found at Maḷavaḷli in the Shimoga District, Mysore State.⁵¹ It registers some grant to the god Maḷapaḷi by Vinhukaḍa Cuṭukalānaṁda⁵² Śātakarni of the Kadamba dynasty⁵³ who calls himself king of Vaijayanti, and

51. Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, Nos. 1195-96.

52. I had occasion to examine coins of two princes of this dynasty found in the North Kanara District, Bombay. Their names on them are clearly Cuṭukalānaṁda and Muḷānaṁda (*Prog. Rep.*, W. Circ., 1911-12, p. 5, para. 18). Rapson is inclined to take Cuṭu and Muḍa (Muṇḍa) as dynastic names (*Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, etc.*, Intro., pp. lxxxiv-lxxxvi). In my opinion, the whole Cuṭaka(ku)lānaṁda and Muḷānaṁda are proper names or individual epithets, for to me it is inconceivable how they could mention their dynastic names only on the coins and not individual names or epithets at all. [The coins give the names Cuṭukaḍānaṁda and Muḍānaṁda and the first of them is found in inscriptions as Cuṭukulānaṁda. We have now additional evidence in support of Bhadarkar that it was a personal and not dynastic name. See Sircar, *Stud. Ind. Coins*, p. 131. The North Kanara District is now in the Mysore or Karnataka State.—D. C. S.]

53. Rapson has conclusively shown that Vinhukaḍa Cuṭukalānaṁda and Śivaskandavarman of the Maḷavaḷli inscriptions were related to each other as father and son (*ibid.*, pp. liv-lv). But then it is worthy of note that the latter has been called king of the Kadambas in one of these records. It thus appears that both father and son belonged to the Kadamba dynasty—a conclusion which thoroughly agrees with the fact that their title *Vaijayantipurāraja*, *Mānavya-sagotta* and *Hāritiputta* are exactly those of the Kadambas known to us from their copper-plate charters (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 287). [For comments on these views, see Sircar, *Suc. Sat. L. Dec.*, pp. 220ff. Śivaskandavarman was the son of Cuṭukulānanda's daughter.—D. C. S.]

records the renewal of the same grant by his son. Vaijayanṭi, we know, is Banavāsī in the North Kanara District, Bombay P̄sidency. At Banavāsī, too, we have found an inscription of the queen of this king. Both Banavāsī and Maḷavallī are situated in the Canarese-speaking country, and yet we find that the official language here is Pāli. The same conclusion is proved with reference to the Tamil-speaking country by the five copper-plate grants referred to above. Of these five, three belong to the Pallava dynasty reigning at Kāñcīpura, one to a king called Jayavarman, and one to Vijayadevavarman.⁵⁴ The very fact that every one of these is a title-deed and has been drawn up in Pāli shows that this Aryan language must have been known to officials of even the lowest rank and also to literate and even semi-literate people. One of the three Pallava charters, *e. g.*, issues instructions, for the maintenance of the grant therein registered, not only to the *rājaku-māra* or royal princes, *senāpati* or generals, and so forth, but also to the free-holders of various villages (*gāmāgāma-bhojaka*), guards (*ārakhādhikata*) and even cowherds (*go-vallava*) who were employed in the king's service. The princes⁵⁵ and generals may perhaps be presumed to be of the Aryan stock and consequently speaking an Aryan tongue; but the free-holders of the various villages, guards and cowherds, at any rate, must be supposed to be of Nonaryan race. And when instructions are issued to them by a charter couched in Pāli, the conclusion is inevitable that this Aryan tongue, at least up to the fourth century A. D., was spoken and understood by all classes of people in a country of which the capital was

54. Liders' List, Nos. 1200, 1205, 1327, 1328 and 1194. [Better—Vijaya-Devavarman.—D. C. S.]

55. Personally I think most of the princes in Southern India were of Dravidian blood as is clearly evidenced by their names such as Puḷumāvi, Viḷivāyakura, Kaḷalāya, Cuṭukala and so forth.

Kāñcipura and which was and is now a centre of the Tamil language and literature.*

Just now I have many a time remarked that Pāli might not have been the home tongue of the people, but was well understood by them. Perhaps some of you would like to know what I exactly mean by this. I shall explain myself by giving an instance. We know that there are many Canarese-speaking districts which were conquered and held by the Marāṭhās. Some of them still belong to the Marāṭhā Chiefs. If you go to any one of these districts, you will find that, although the indigenous people speak Canarese at home and among themselves, Marāṭhī is understood by many of them and even by some of the lower classes. This is the result of the Marāṭhā domination extending over only two centuries, and has happened notwithstanding the fact that the Canarese people have their own art and literature. As the Pāli inscriptions referred to above show, the Aryans had established themselves in Southern India for at least seven centuries. It is, therefore, no wonder that the Aryan tongue could be spoken, at any rate well understood, by the original Dravidians even to the lowest classes, as is clearly evidenced, I think, at least by the inscriptions of Aśoka and those connected with the Buddhist *stūpas*.** We must not, however, lose sight of the fact that the Aryan language for some reason or other had not become the home tongue of these Dravidians. Evidence in support of this conclusion, curiously enough, is forthcoming from an extraneous and unforeseen quarter. A papy-

*[The argument is weak and the conclusion wrong. The Aryan court language in the South must have enjoyed the position of Persian in Mughul times and English in the British days and was intelligible only to the educated few.—D. C. S.]

**[It is impossible to believe that the Aryan language was intelligible in the South in early times more than Sanskrit is understood there today. Of course only a few have knowledge of Sanskrit.—D. C. S.]

rus of the second century A. D. was discovered in 1903 at Oxyrhynchus in Egypt, containing a Greek farce by an unknown author.⁵⁶ The farce is concerned with a Greek lady named Charition, who has been stranded on the coast of a country bordering the Indian Ocean. The king of this country addresses his retinue as 'Chiefs of the Indians'. In some places, the same king and his countrymen use their own language especially when Charition has wine served to them to make them drunk. Many stray words have been traced; but so far only two sentences have been read, and these leave no doubt whatever as to their language having been Canarese. One of the sentences referred to is *bēre koṇca madhu pātrakke hāki*, which means 'having poured a little wine into the cup separately'. The other sentence is *pānaṁ bēre etti kaṭṭi madhuvan bēre ettuvēnu*, which means 'having taken up the cup separately and having covered [it], I shall take wine separately'. From the fact that the Indian language employed in the papyrus is Canarese, it follows that the scene of Charition's adventures is one of the numerous small ports on the western coast of India between Karwar and Mangalore and that Canarese was at least imperfectly understood in that part of Egypt where the farce was composed and acted, for if the Greek audience in Egypt did not understand even a bit of Canarese, the scene of the drinking bout would be denuded of all its humour and would be entirely out of place. There were commercial relations of an intimate nature between Egypt and the west coast of India in the early centuries of the Christian era, and it is not strange if some people of Egypt understood Canarese.* To come to our point, the papyrus clearly shows that, in the second century A.D., Canarese was spoken in

56. *JRAS*, 1904, pp. 399 ff.

*[It is difficult to believe that the audience of a Greek farce played in Egypt understood Kannaḍa. If the language of the two sentences is Kannaḍa, they must have been meant to be an unintelligible jargon.—D. C. S.]

Southern India even by princes, who most probably were Dravidian by extraction. The Canarese, however, which they spoke, was not pure Canarese, but was strongly tinged with Aryan words. I have quoted two Canarese sentences from the Greek farce, and you will have seen that they contain the words *pātra* (cup), *pāna* (drink) and *madhu* (wine), which are genuine Aryan vocables as they are to be found in the Vedas. The very fact that even in respect of ordinary affairs relating to drinking we find them using, not words of their home language as we would naturally expect them to do, but words from Aryan vocabulary, indicates what hold the Aryan speech had on their tongue.

Nevertheless it must be confessed that even seven centuries of Aryan domination in South India was not enough for the eradication of the Dravidian languages. It would be exceedingly interesting to investigate the circumstances which precluded the Aryan tongue here from supplanting the aboriginal one. Such an inquiry, I am afraid, is irrelevant here. And I, therefore, leave it to the Dravidian scholars to tackle this most interesting, but also most bewildering, problem.⁵⁷

Though the causes that led to the preservation and survival of the Dravidian languages are not known at present, this much is certain, as I have shown above, that up till 400 A.D. at any rate, an Aryan tongue was spoken and known to the people in general* just in those provinces where the Dravidian languages are now the only vernaculars. If such was the case, we can easily understand why in Ceylon to the present day we have an Indo-Aryan vernacular. For we have seen that the tide of the Aryan colonisation did not stop till it reached Ceylon.

57. Let me say here that the exact question to be answered is why the Dravidian language was supplanted by the Aryan language in North India, but not in South India, although Aryan civilisation had apparently permeated South India as much as North India.

*[It was merely the court language understood by some people.—D.C.S.]

Naturally, therefore, not only the Aryan civilisation, but also the Aryan speech was implanted from South India into this country, where, however, as in North India, it succeeded in completely superseding the tongue originally spoken there. This satisfactorily answers, I think, the question about the origin of Pāli in which the Buddhist scriptures of Ceylon have been written. The Island was converted to Buddhism about the middle of the third century B. C. by the preaching of Mahinda, a son of the great Buddhist emperor Aśoka. Naturally, therefore, the scriptures, which Mahinda brought with him from his father's capital, must have been in Māgadhi, the dialect of the Magadha country. As a matter of fact, however, the language of these scriptures, as we have them now, is anything but Māgadhi, though, of course, a few Māgadhisms are here and there traceable. This discrepancy has been variously explained by scholars. Kern holds that Pāli was never spoken and was an artificial language altogether—a view which no scholar endorses at present.* Oldenberg boldly rejects the Sinhalese tradition that Mahinda brought the sacred texts to Ceylon. He compares the Pāli language to that of the cave inscriptions in Maharashtra and of the epigraph of king Khāravela in the Hāthigumphā in Orissa, *i.e.* old Kāliṅga,** says that they are essentially the same dialect and comes to the conclusion that the Tipiṭaka was brought to the Island from the peninsula of South India, from either Maharashtra or Kāliṅga, with the natural spread of Buddhism southwards.⁵⁸ I am afraid, I cannot agree with Oldenberg in his first conclusion. On the contrary, I agree with Rhys Davids that the Sinhalese tradition that Buddhism was introduced into Ceylon by Mahinda is well-founded and must be accepted as true. On the other hand,

*[Pāli was a literary language like Sanskrit.—D. C. S.]

**[Kāliṅga was part of the coastal areas of Orissa and Andhra Pradesh.—D. C. S.]

58. *Vinayaṭiṭaka*, Vol. I, Intro., pp. liv-lv.

Oldenberg has, I think, correctly pointed out that Pāli of the Buddhist scriptures is widely divergent from Māgadhī, but is essentially the same as the dialect of the old inscriptions found in Maharashtra or Kālīṅga. The truth of the matter is that the Aryans, who colonised Maharashtra and Kālīṅga,⁵⁹ spoke practically the same dialect, as is evidenced by inscriptions, and that when they went still farther southwards and occupied Ceylon, they naturally introduced their own dialect there, as is also evidenced by the inscriptions discovered in the Island. I have told you before that the Aryan colonisation of Ceylon was complete long prior to the advent of the Mauryas, and we must, therefore, suppose that this dialect was already being spoken when Mahinda came and introduced Buddhism. Now, we have a passage in the *Cullavagga*⁶⁰ of the *Vinaya-piṭṭaka*, in which Buddha distinctly ordains that his word was to be conveyed by different Bhikṣus in their different dialects. The Māgadhī of the sacred texts brought by Mahinda must thus have been replaced by Pāli, the dialect of Ceylon, and we can perfectly understand how in this gradual replacement a few Māgadhisms of the original may here and there have escaped the weeding-out, especially as Māgadhī and Pāli were not two divergent languages, but only two dialects of one and the same language.

59. Personally I think, the Aryans went to Kālīṅga not by the eastern, but by the southern route. It is worthy of note that while the Pāli Buddhist canon knows Aṅga and Magadha and Assaka (Āśmaka) and Kālīṅga, it does not know Vaṅga, Puṇḍra and Suhma—exactly the countries intervening between Aṅga and Kālīṅga, through which they would certainly have passed and where they certainly would have been settled if they had gone to Kālīṅga by the eastern route. There is, therefore, nothing strange in the dialect of Kālīṅga being the same as that of Maharashtra or the Pāli.

60. V. 33. 1.

LECTURE II

POLITICAL HISTORY

In this lecture I intend treating of the political history of the period we have selected, viz., approximately from 650 to 325 B.C. No good idea of this history is possible unless we first consider the question : What were the biggest territorial divisions known at this time ? The most central of these divisions is, as you are aware, Madhyadeśa or the Middle Country. According to Manu,¹ it denotes the land between the Himālaya in the north, the Vindhya in the south, Prayāga or Allahābād in the east, and Vinasāna or the place where the Sarasvatī disappears, in the west. It is true that the laws of Manu were put into their present form after 200 B. C. ; but I have no doubt that by far the greater portion of it belongs to a much earlier period. Manu's description of the Middle Country, e.g., appears to be older than that we find in the Buddhist Pāli canon, because the easternmost point of Madhyadeśa was Prayāga in Manu's time, whereas that mentioned in the Buddhist works is far to the east of it.* It will thus be seen that the Middle Country has not been described by Manu only, but also in Buddhist scriptures. This description occurs in the Vinayapiṭaka² in connection with the Avanti-Dakṣiṇāpatha country where the Buddhist monk Mahā-Kaccāyana was carrying on his missionary work. Avanti-Dakṣiṇāpatha was, we are told, outside the Middle Country, and it

1. II. 21. [The present *Mamusaṃskṛti* does not appear to be much earlier than the 3rd century A. D.—D. C. S.]

* [The conclusion is not quite convincing. Some Buddhists extended Madhyadeśa upto Puṇḍravardhana in North Bengal. See Sircar, *Cosm. Geog. E. Ind. Lit.*, pp 15 ff.—D. C. S.]

2. Text, I. 197 ; trans., *SBE*, Vol. II, p. 38.

appears that Buddhism had not made much progress there when Mahā-Kaccāyana began his work. When a new member was received into the Buddhist order, the necessary initiation ceremony had to be performed before a chapter of at least ten monks. This was the rule ordained by the Buddha ; but this was well-nigh impossible in the Avanti-Dakṣiṇāpatha country as there were very few Bhikṣus there. Mahā-Kaccāyana, therefore, sent a pupil of his to the Buddha to get the rule relaxed. The Buddha, of course, relaxed the rule and laid down that in all provinces outside the Middle Country a chapter of four Bhikṣus was quite sufficient. It was, however, necessary to specify the boundaries of the Middle Country, and this was done by the Buddha with his characteristic precision. To the east, we are told, was the town called Kajaṅgala, beyond that is Mahāsālā. To the south-east is the river Salalavāṇī, to the south is the town Setakaṇṇika, to the west is the Brāhmaṇa village called Thūna, and to the north is the mountain called Uśiraddhaja. Unfortunately, none of these boundary places here specified have been identified except one. This exception is the easterly point, viz., Kajaṅgala, which, according to Rhys Davids, must have been situated nearly 70 miles east of modern Bhāgalpur.³ In the time of the Buddha, therefore, the eastern limit of the Middle Country had extended nearly 400 miles eastward of Prayāga which was its easternmost point in Manu's time. Now there cannot be any doubt that Madhyadeśa was looked upon as a territorial division. We find constant references to it in the Buddhist Jātakas. Thus in one place we read of two merchants going from Utkala or Orissa to Majjhimadesa or the Middle Country.⁴ This clearly shows that Orissa was not included in the Middle Country. But we read of Videha being situated in it.⁵ Again, we hear of hermits fearing to descend

³ JRAS, 1904, pp. 87-88. [Kajaṅgala is Kanjool near Rajmahal. Read Thūna.—D.C.S.]

⁴ Jāt., Vol. I, p. 80.

⁵ Ibid, Vol. III, p. 364.

from the Himalayas to go to Majjhimadesa, because the people there are too learned.⁶ It will thus be quite clear that Majjhimadesa or Madhyadeśa was a name not created by the writers, but was actually in vogue among the people and denoted some particular territorial division. It was with reference to this Middle Country that the terms Dakṣiṇāpatha and Uṭṭarāpatha seem to have come into use. Dakṣiṇāpatha, I think, originally meant the country to the south not of the Vindhyas so much as of Madhyadeśa. This is clear from the fact that we find mention made of Avanti-Dakṣiṇāpatha. I have just told you that it was in this country that the Buddhist missionary Mahā-Kaccāyana preached. It is worthy of note that Avanti was a very extensive country and that in Buddhist works we sometimes hear of Ujjeni⁷ and sometimes of Māhissatī⁸ as being its capital. Ujjeni is, of course, the well-known Ujjain, and Māhissatī is the same as Sanskrit *Māhismatī* which has been correctly identified with Māndhātā⁹ on the Narmadā in the Central Provinces. It, therefore, seems that Ujjain was the capital of the northern division of Avanti, which was known simply as the Avanti country, and Māhissatī of the southern division which was, therefore, called Avanti-Dakṣiṇāpatha. Now, Māndhātā, with which Māhissatī has been identified, is not to the south of the Vindhyas, but rather in the range itself, and as it was the capital of the country, this country must necessarily have included a portion of Central India immediately to the north of this mountain range, its southern portion having coincided with Vidarbha. The country of Avanti-Dakṣiṇāpatha was thus not exactly to the south of the Vindhyas as its upper half was to the north of this range.

6 *Ibid.*, pp. 115-16.

7 *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 390.

8 *SBB*, Vol. III, p. 270.

9 *JRAS*, 1910, pp. 445-46. [It is identified by some with Maheshwar in the East Nimar District of the present Madhya Pradesh State.—D. C. S.]

And yet it has been called Dakṣiṇāpatha.¹⁰ And it seems to have been called Dakṣiṇāpatha, because it was to the south not so much of the Vindhya as of the Middle Country. The same appears to be the case with the term Uttarāpatha. One Jātaka speaks of certain horse-dealers as having come from Uttarāpatha to Vārānaśi or Benares.¹¹ Uttarāpatha cannot here signify Northern India, because Benares itself is in Northern India. Evidently it denotes a country at least outside and to the north of the Kāśi kingdom whose capital Benares was. As the horses of the dealers just referred to are called *sindhava*, it clearly indicates that they came from the banks of the Sindhu or the Indus. We have seen that, according to Manu, the Sarasvatī formed the western boundary of Madhyadeśa. And the Indus is as much to the north as to the west of the Sarasvatī and therefore of Madhyadeśa. It was thus with reference to the Middle Country that the name Uttarāpatha also was devised. Up to the tenth century A.D., we find the term Uttarāpatha used in this sense.¹² Thus when Prabhākara-vardhana, king of Sthāṇviśvara, sent his son Rājyavardhana to invade the Hūṇa territory in the Himalayas, Bāṇa (c. 625 A.D.), author of the *Harṣacarita*, represents him to have gone to Uttarāpatha.¹³ As the Hūṇa territory has thus been placed in Uttarāpatha, it is clear that Prabhākara-vardhana's kingdom was excluded from it. And as Sthāṇviśvara, capital of Prabhākara-vardhana, is Thanesar and is on this side of the

10 See also the name Avanti-Dakṣiṇāpatha occurring in *Jāt.*, Vol. III, pp. 463-16. [Rājasekhara's *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* locates Dakṣiṇāpatha not specially to the south of Madhyadeśa, but of Māhiśnati, while the *Jayāmaṅgalā* commentary on the *Kāmasūtra* places it to the south of the Narmadā. See Sircar, *Cosm. Geog. E. Ind. Lit.*, pp. 103, 107.—D. C. S.]

11 II. 287. 15. ['Benares (Banāras)' is now called 'Varanasi'.—D. C. S.]

12 In the *Divyāvadāna* (ed. Cowell and Neil, p. 407) Takṣaśilā is placed in Uttarāpatha. But it is not clear that this Uttarāpatha excluded Madhyadeśa.

13 *Harṣacarita* (Bomb. Sans. Prak. Ser., No. LXVI), p. 210.

Sarasvatī, his kingdom was understood to be included in Madhyadeśa, with reference to which alone the Hūna territory seems to have been described as being in Uttarāpatha. Similarly, the poet Rājaśekhara (c. 880-920 A.D.), in his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*,¹⁴ places Uttarāpatha on the other side of Prthūdaka which, we know, is Pehoa in the Karnal District, Punjab,* i.e. on the western border of the Middle Country. It is, therefore, clear that the terms Dakṣināpatha and Uttarāpatha came into vogue only in regard to Madhyadeśa. It must, however, be borne in mind that although Uttarāpatha in Northern India denoted the country north of Madhyadeśa, in Southern India, even in Bāna's time, the term denoted Northern India. Thus Harṣavardhana, Bāna's patron, has been described in South Indian inscriptions as *śrīmad-Uttarāpath-ādhipati*, i.e., sovereign of Uttarāpatha, which must here signify North India.¹⁵

We thus see that the whole of the region occupied by the Aryans was at this early period divided into three parts, viz. Madhyadeśa, Uttarāpatha and Dakṣināpatha. Let us now see what the political divisions were. In no less than four places, the *Āṅguttaranikāya* mentions what appears to be a stereotyped list of the *Soḷasa Mahā-janapada*, i.e., the Sixteen Great Countries. This list is certainly familiar to those of you who have read Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India*. It is as follows—

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|------------|--------------|
| 1. Aṅgā | 9. Kurū |
| 2. Magadhā | 10. Pañcālā |
| 3. Kāśī | 11. Macchā |
| 4. Kosalā | 12. Sūrasenā |
| 5. Vajjī | 13. Assakā |

14 GOS ed., p. 94, line 8.

* [Now Haryana.—D.C.S.]

15 JBBRAS, Vol. XIV, p. 26 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 46. [The Cālukya charters represent Harṣavardhana as *sakal-ottarāpathi-cēvara*.—D. C. S.]

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|----------|--------------|
| 6. Mallā | 14. Avantī |
| 7. Chetī | 15. Gandhārā |
| 8. Vamsā | 16. Kambojā. |

Now, if we examine this list, we find that here we have the names not of countries proper, but of peoples. It is curious that the name of a people was employed to denote the country they occupied. The custom was certainly prevalent in ancient times, but has now fallen into desuetude. Secondly, two of these names are not of peoples but of tribes, *viz.*, the Vajjī and the Mallā. Thirdly, we seem to have here a specification, by pairs, of the conterminous countries. Aṅgā and Magadhā thus are one pair, Kāsī and Kosalā another, Kurū and Pañcalā a third, and so on, and there can be no doubt that the countries of each pair are contiguous with each other. Some other points too are worth noting about this list; but they can be best understood when we come to know the more or less correct geographical position of the countries.

Let us take the first pair, *viz.*, Aṅgā and Magadhā. That they were conterminous is clear, *e.g.*, from one Jātaka story¹⁶ which tells us that the citizens of Aṅga and Magadha were travelling from one land to another and staying in a house on the marches of the two *raṭṭhas*, i.e. kingdoms. This shows that they were not only contiguous, but separate kingdoms in the 7th century B.C., the social life of which period the Jātakas are believed to depict.* In the time of the Buddha, Aṅga was first independent, but came afterwards to be annexed to Magadha. The river Campā separated Aṅga from Magadha.¹⁷ On this river was the capital of Aṅga, which was also called Campā and has been identified by Cunningham with Bhāgalpur.¹⁸ One

16 II. 211. ff.

* [The Jātakas are themselves not earlier than the 3rd century B. C. and some of them may be as late as the 6th century A. D.—D.C.S.]

17 *Jat.*, Vol. IV, p. 454, line 11.

18 *ASR*, Vol. XV, p. 31.

Jātaka story calls it Kālacampā, and places it 60 *yojanas* from Mithilā. The capital of Magadha was Rājagṛha, modern Rājgir. Strictly speaking, there were two capitals here—one, the more ancient, called Girivraja because it was a veritable 'cow-pen of hills' being enclosed by the five hills of Rājgir, and the other,¹⁹ Rājagṛha proper, the later town built at the foot of the hills. Shortly after the death of the Buddha, the capital of Magadha was transferred from Rājagṛha to Pāṭaliputra, modern Patnā.

We shall take up the next pair, viz., Kāśi and Kosalā. Kāśi-raṭṭha was an independent kingdom before the rise of Buddhism. In the time of the Buddha, however, it formed part of Kosala. The capital of Kāśi-raṭṭha was Vārāṇasī, i.e., Benares, so called perhaps after the great river Vārāṇasī.²⁰ Kāśi, it is worthy of note, was the name of a country and not of a town. Kāśipura, of course, denoted Benares, but in the sense of the capital (*pura*) of the Kāśi country. Vārāṇasī had other names also. Thus it was called Surundhana²¹ in the Udaya Birth, Sudassana²² in the Cullasutasoma Birth, Brahmavaddhana²³ in the Sonanandana Birth, Pupphavati²⁴ in the Khaṇḍahala Birth and Ramma City²⁵ in the Yuvañjaya Birth. Its sixth name was Molinī.²⁶ Kosala is called *anantara-sāmanta* to, i.e. immediately bordering on, Kāśi in one Jātaka. The capital of Kosala is Sāvattthi or Śrāvastī which, we now know beyond all doubt, is Maheth of the village group

19 *Mahābhārata* II. 21. 1-3.

20 *Index to the Jātaka* (*Jāt.*, Vol. VII, p. 92) under *Bārāṇasī-mahānadi*. [The name of the place is 'Varāṇasī' in Sanskrit and 'Bārāṇasī' in Pāli—D.C.S.]

21 *Jāt.*, Vol. IV, p. 104, lines 15, 18.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 119, line 28 ; Vol. V. p. 177, line 12, etc.

23 *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 119, line 29 ; Vol. V, p. 312, line 19, etc.

24 *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 119, line 29 ; Vol. VI, p. 131, line 11, etc.

25 *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 119, line 26, etc.

26 *Ibid.*, p. 15, line 20, etc. [Correctly, Mālinī. Read *Soṇananda* and *Khaṇḍahala*.—D.C.S.]

Saheth-Maheth on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich Districts of the United Provinces.²⁷ Another important town of this country was Sāketa which was certainly the capital of Kosala in the period immediately preceding the Buddha, as is clear from the Jātakas.²⁸ Cunningham has shown that this Sāketa can be no other than Ayodhyā, modern Oudh.²⁹

The third pair we have to consider is Vajji and Mallā. I have already told you that they are the names, not of peoples, but of tribes. The Vajjis were known also as Licchavis. Videha and some parts of Kosala appear to have been held by them. Their capital was Vesālī or Vaiśālī which has been identified with Basārḥ in the Muzaffarpur District of Bihār.³⁰

Then comes the pair—Chetī and Vamsā. In the Jātakas, mention has been made of Ceta-raṭṭha or Cetiya-raṭṭha, and at one place we are told that its capital was Sotthivati-nagara.³¹ I have no doubt that Ceta or Cetiya is the same as Sanskrit *Caidya* or *Cedi*, which occurs even in the *R̥gveda*³² and corresponds roughly to the modern Bundelkhand. The Vamsā are identical with the Vatsas whose capital was Kauśāmbī. This last has been identified by Alexander Cunningham with Kosam on the Jamuna, about thirty-five miles south-west from Allahābād.³³

Kuru and Pañcālā have been known to be contiguous

27 *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 1066 ff. [Now Uttar Pradesh—D.C.S.]

28 See, e.g., *Jāt.*, Vol. III, p. 270, line 15.

29 *ASR*, Vol. I, p. 320. [Ajodhya in the Faizābād District, U. P.—D.C.S.]

30 *ASI, AR*, 1903-04, pp. 82-83. [The Vajji and Licchavi appear to have been members of a confederacy.—D.C.S.]

31 *Jāt.*, Vol. III, p. 454, lines 19-20. [Better Sotthivatī-nagarī.—D.C.S.]

32 VIII. 5. 37-39.

33 *ASR*, Vol. I, pp. 304-05; also *JRAS*, 1898, p. 503.

countries since the Vedic period. The capital of the Kuru country was Indapatta or Indraprastha near Delhi, and that of Pañcāla, Kāmpilya which has been identified with Kampil on the old Ganges between Budāon and Farrukhādād in U. P.³⁴ Both these must be Dakṣiṇa-Kuru and Dakṣiṇa-Pañcāla. The capital of Uttara-Pañcāla was Ahicchatra or Ahikṣetra according to the *Mahābhārata*. Mention of Uttara-Kuru we meet with both in the early Brāhmanical and Buddhist literature ; but its capital is not yet known.*

As regards Maccha and Sūrasena, the former doubtless corresponds to Sanskrit *Matsya*. The Matsya people and country have been known to us from early times, being mentioned as early as the *Śatapatha*³⁵ and *Gopatha*³⁶ *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad*.³⁷ Matsya originally included parts of Alwar, Jaipur and Bharatpur, and was the kingdom of king Virāṭa of the *Mahābhārata*, at whose court the five Pāṇḍava brothers resided *incognito* during the last year of their banishment.³⁸ His capital has been identified with Bairāt in the Jaipur State. * * The Sūrasenas occupied the country whose capital was Madhurā, i.e., Mathurā, on the Jamuna. In the Buddha's time, the king of Madhurā was styled Avanti-putta, showing that on his mother's side he was connected with the royal family of Ujjain. It is worthy of note that according to Manu, Kurukṣetra and the lands of the Matsyas, the Pañcālas

34 *ASR*, Vol. XI, p. 12 ; *JRAS*, 1899, p. 313. [The well-known capital of the Kurus was Hastināpura in the Meerut District, U.P.—D.C.S.]

* [Uttarakuru was in the Himalayas and was later regarded as a mythical territory.—D.C.S.]

35 XIII. 5. 4. 9.

36 I. 2. 9.

37 IV. 1.

38 *Prog. Rep., W. Circ.*, 1909-10, p. 44.

** [Now Jaipur Division of Rajasthan.—D.C.S.]

and the Sūrasenakas comprised Brahmar̥ṣi-deśa or the land of the Brāhmaṇa Ṛsis.³⁹

The Assakas and the Avantis have been associated together in the *Soṇa-Nanda Jātaka*.⁴⁰ The first obviously are the Aśmakas of the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*.⁴¹ In early Pāli literature, Assaka with its capital Potana or Potalī has, on the one hand, been distinguished from Muḷaka with its capital Patitṭhāna (Paṭṭhaṇ),⁴² and, on the other, from Kalinga with its capital Dantapura.⁴³ But as Assaka is here contrasted with Avanti, it seems to have included Muḷaka and also perhaps Kalinga.⁴⁴ Avanti also here includes the two well-known divisions referred to above—the northern division called simply Avanti country with its capital Ujjain and the southern Avanti-Dakṣiṇāpātha with its capital Māhissatī.

The last pair is Gandhāra and Kamboja. The former included the West Punjab and East Afghanistan. Its capital was Takkasīlā or Takṣaśīlā,⁴⁵ whose ruins are spread near Sarai-

39 II. 19.

40 *Jāt.*, Vol. V, p. 317, line 24.

41 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 174.

42 In the *Suttanipāṭa* (V. 977), the Assaka (Aśmaka) country has been associated with Muḷaka with its capital Patitṭhāna and mentioned as situated immediately to the south of the latter, but along the river Godāvarī (vs. 977, 1010-01). See also *supra*, Lecture I, note 6.

43 *Jāt.*, Vol. III, p. 3, lines 3-4.

44 Assaka is similarly contrasted with Avanti in *Jāt.*, Vol. V, p. 317, line 24. In the *Dīghanikāya*, Kalinga, Assaka and Avanti are contradistinguished (*SBB*, Vol. III, p. 270) where Assaka must have comprised Muḷaka.

45 *Jāt.*, Vol. I, p. 191, line 11; Vol. II, p. 47, line 11, etc., etc. In the *Mahābhārata*, two capitals of Gandhāra are mentioned, viz. Takṣaśīlā and Puṣkarāvati, the former situated to the east and the latter to the west of the Indus. In Aśoka's time, Takṣaśīlā does not appear to have been the capital of Gandhāra, for from his Rock Edict XIII we see that Gandhāra was not in his dominions proper, but was feudatory to him. On the other hand, from Separate Orissa Edict I, we learn that Takṣaśīlā was under him as one of his sons was stationed there. Evidently Takṣaśīlā was not

kala in the Rawalpindi District of the Punjab. It is very difficult to locate the Kambojas. According to one view, they were a Northern Himalaya people, and according to another they were the Tibetans. But in our period, they were probably settled to the north-west of the Indus and are the same as Kambujiya of the old Persian inscriptions. Their capital is not known.

It will be seen that the different political divisions, mentioned in the above list, were in existence shortly before the time of the Buddha. We know that, during his lifetime, Aṅga ceased to be an independent kingdom, and was annexed to Magadha, and that the territory of Kāśi was incorporated into the Kosala dominions. If we, however, turn to the Jātaka, we find that both Aṅga and Kāśi were independent countries. The *Campeyya Jātaka*,⁴⁶ e. g., speaks of Aṅga and Magadha as two distinct kingdoms, whose rulers are constantly at war with each other. Kāśi and Kosala are similarly represented in the *Mahāsīlavya Jātaka* and *Asātarūpa Jātaka*⁴⁷ as being two independent countries and their kings fighting with each other.

The political divisions enumerated in the *Aṅguttaranikāya* were, therefore, existing prior, but only just prior, to the

the capital of Gandhāra in Aśoka's time. This agrees with the statement of Ptolemy that the Gandarai (Gandhāra) country was to the west of the Indus with its city Proklais, i.e. Puṣkarāvati (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 348-49). [Puṣkalāvati (modern Mirziyarat or Charsadda near Peshawar) was the capital of Gandhāra while Takṣaśīla was the headquarters of the Uttarāpatha province in the Maurya empire. Not only the Peshawar region but even parts of Central and Southern Afghanistan formed parts of Aśoka's empire. The Kandahar edicts of Aśoka show that the most prominent Greek and Kamboja settlements in Aśoka's empire lay in the Kandahar region.—D.C.S.]

46 *Jāt.*, Vol. IV, pp. 454 ff.

47 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 262 ff. and 409 ff.

time when the Buddha flourished, because we have the mention of the Vajjī and Mallā in this list. It is worthy of note that they are mentioned in the Jātakas, but only in the introductions to them and never in the stories themselves. Evidently, therefore, these tribes came to be known after the period represented by the Jātakas, but before that of the origin of Buddhism. It will thus be observed that, early in the sixth century B. C., India, *i.e.*, the portion of India which was colonised by the Aryans at that time, was split up into a number of tiny States, living independently and sometimes fighting with one another. There was no supreme ruler to whom they owed fealty. The Purāṇas tell the same tale. They distinctly state that along with the rulers of Magadha flourished other dynasties, such as the Aikṣvākavas or kings of Kosala, Pañcālas, Kāśeyas, Aśmakas, Kurus, Maithilas and so forth.⁴⁸ This clearly shows that, about 600 B. C., India occupied by the Aryans was divided into several small kingdoms and that there was no imperial dynasty to which the others were subordinate. The most important of these tiny dynasties is that of Brahmadatta reigning at Vārāṇasī and ruling over the Kāśī-raṭṭha. The family also seems to have been called Brahmadatta after this king. Thus in the Jātakas every prince who was heir-apparent to the throne of Vārāṇasī has been styled Brahmadatta-kumāra. In the *Matsya Purāṇa*⁴⁹ also, a dynasty consisting of one hundred Brahmadattas has been referred to. In the Jātakas, no less than six kings of Vārāṇasī have been mentioned besides Brahmadatta. They are Uggasena, Dhanañjaya, Mahāsīlava, Saṁyama, Vissasena and Udayabhadda.⁵⁰ In the Purāṇas, Brahmadatta is repre-

48. Pargiter, *Purāṇic Text*, etc., pp. 23-24.

49. Ānandāśrama Sans. Ser. ed., p. 556, v. 72. I am indebted for this reference to Mr. Harit Krishnoa Deb.

50. *Jāt.*, Vol. IV, p. 458, line 13 ; Vol. III, p. 97, line 23 ; Vol. I, p. 262, line 8 ; Vol. V, p. 354, line 9 ; Vol. II, p. 345, line 19 ; Vol. IV, p. 104, lines 22, 25.

sented to have been followed in succession by Yogasena, Viṣvaksena, Udaksena and Bhallāṭa.⁵¹ There can be no doubt that Viṣvaksena and Udaksena of the Purāṇas are the same as Vissasena and Udayabhadda of the Jātakas. Bhallāṭa of the Purāṇas, again, is most probably Bhallāṭiya of the *Bhallāṭiya Jātaka*.⁵²

When the Buddha lived and preached, there were four great kingdoms, viz., Magadha, Kosala, Vatsa and Avanti. The most prominent of these was Magadha, whose rulers, as we shall see subsequently, rose to the position of paramount sovereigns. From the Pali Buddhist canon which pertains to a period only slightly later than the demise of the Buddha and which consequently is trustworthy, we learn that Caṇḍa-Pradyota of Avanti, Udayana of the Vatsa territory, Pasenadi and his son Viḍūḍabha of Kosala, and Bimbisāra and his son Ajātaśatru of Magadha were contemporaries of the Buddha. The kings were thus contemporaries of one another. This point is worth grasping as this synochronism is the only sheet-anchor in the troubled sea of chronology in the period we have selected. The only chronicle that is relied on for this period is the Purāṇas; but it is a hopeless task to reduce the chaos of the Purāṇic accounts to any order. Some attempts⁵³ no doubt have recently been made to deduce a consistent political history from these materials, but without any success so far as I can see.

I have just informed you that, in the time of the Buddha, there were four important kingdoms, flourishing side by side. They were also connected by matrimonial alliances as might naturally be expected. For our description, we shall first

51 *Vayu P.* (ASS ed.), p. 376, vs. 180-82; *Viṣṇu P.*, Part IV, Chap. 19.

52 *Jāt.*, Vol. IV, p. 537, line 16.

53 S. V. Venkateswara Ayyar, 'The Ancient History of Magadha' (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLV, pp. 8-16, 28-21); K. P. Jayaswal, 'The Śāśunāka and Maurya Chronology, etc.' (*JBORS*, 1915, pp. 67 ff.).

take Udayana of Kauśāmbī, and Pradyota, ruler of Ujjain. A long account of Udayana is contained in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*; but the greater portion of it, I am afraid, is untrustworthy. According to the *Purāṇas*, he pertained to the Paurava dynasty.⁵⁴ The same authority tells us that his father's name was Śātānika. Bhāsa, the earliest Sanskrit dramatist that we know at present,* has composed two dramas describing incidents from Udayana's life, viz., *Svapnavāsavadatta* and *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa*. From these it appears that he was the son of Śātānika and grandson of Sahasrānika and belonged to the Bhārata family.⁵⁵ As he is called Vaidehīputra, his mother appears to have been a daughter of the king of Videha. Udayana's first queen was Vāsavadattā, daughter of the king of Ujjain, who is called Pradyota Mahāsena by Bhāsa, but Chanda Pradyota in the Buddhist works. According to the Buddhist tradition, Udayana had two more queens, viz., Sāmavati and Māgandiyā. The latter was his crowned queen and was the daughter of a Brāhmaṇa. According to the Brāhmanical accounts, he had two queens only, viz. Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī. His second queen, Padmāvatī, was a sister of Darśaka, king of Rājagṛha (Magadha). Scholars of the saner type have assigned Bhāsa to the third century A. D., and Bhāsa apparently followed the tradition which was current in his time. He does not, however, seem to be correct in accepting the tradition which makes Padmāvatī, a sister of Darśaka, as will be shown shortly when we come to treat of the Magadha dynasties. Udayana had a lute called Ghosavaṭi⁵⁶ whose sound captivated the elephants and by means of which he

54 Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 7, 66.

* [As a dramatist, Aśvaghoṣa is earlier than Bhāsa.—D.C.S.]

55 Bhāsa speaks of this family as *prakāśa-rājarsi-nāmadheyo* and *Vedākṣara-samavāya-praviṣṭo* (*Pratijñāyau.*, p. 34).

56 This seems to have been an heirloom of the Bhārata family to which Udayana belonged and which was noted for proficiency in music (*ibid.*, pp. 34-35).

captured them. He had a she-elephant named Bhaddavatikā, to which he owed his life, queen and kingdom.⁵⁷

The two dramas of Bhāsa referred to above supply us with many interesting items of information which, when they are brought to a focus, throw a flood of light upon the political condition of the period. The king, who seems to have been dreaded most when the Buddha lived, was not Ajātaśatru, Pasenadi or Udayana, but Pradyota who is known both as Mahāsena or possessed of a large army⁵⁸ and Caṇḍa or terrible.⁵⁹ We know from the *Majjhimanikāya* that even such a powerful king as Ajātaśatru was thrown on his defensive and was engaged on fortifying his capital Rājagṛha when Pradyota invaded his territory, instead of meeting him openly in battle. Before, however, he attacked Magadha, he thought of subjugating the neighbouring province of Vatsa. But he was afraid of the undaunted bravery of Udayana and the political sagacity of his prime minister Yaugandharāyaṇa. He, therefore, resorted to a ruse. He knew of the inordinate fondness of Udayana for capturing wild elephants with the captivating sounds of his *vinā*. An artificial elephant was set up in the jungles on the Narmadā just where the boundaries of the Avanti and Vatsa kingdoms met, and in the body of the elephant were concealed a number of select warriors. Udayana fell a victim to this trap, put up a heroic fight to free himself, but was taken prisoner and carried away to Ujjain, where however, he was accorded a chivalrous treatment by Mahāsena. When Yaugandharāyaṇa learnt that his master had fallen into

⁵⁷ *Jat.*, Vol. III, p. 384.

⁵⁸ Vāsavadattā herself says that her father was called Mahāsena on account of his large army (*tasya bala-parimāṇa-nirvṛttaṁ nāmadheyaṁ Mahāsena iti—Svapnavā.*, 20).

⁵⁹ In the same drama, Udayana speaks of Pradyota as *pṛthivyāṁ rāja-vamśīyānām=uday-āsta-maya-prabhuh* (p. 67). [*Caṇḍa* means 'violent.'—D.C.S.]

the hands of a neighbouring king, he hastened to his release. He turned a Buddhist monk along with another minister and stole into Ujjain. He found that the release of Udayana had become a complicated affair by the latter having fallen in love with Vāsavadattā, Mahāsena's daughter. He, however, devised a way out of this difficulty. One of his men was made a Mahaut of Vāsavadattā, and on an appointed day the two lovers managed to elope, leaving Yaugandharāyaṇa and his fighting band to cover their flight. At first, Mahāsena was furious ; but he soon relented ; and in the absence of the lovers themselves, the proper marriage ceremonies were performed over their portraits.

Kauṭilya in his *Arthasāstra*⁶⁰ says that, when it is impossible to ward off danger from all sides, a king should run away, leaving all that belongs to him ; for, if he lives, his return to power is certain as was the case with Suyātra and Udayana. We know from the *Svapnavāsavadatta* that Udayana had to flee from his kingdom to a frontier village called Lāvānaka. The enemy, who overran his territory, was Āruṇi⁶¹ who appears to have been ruling to the north of the Ganges. Might he be a king of Kosala ? At any rate, the *Ratnāvali* clearly represents a king of Kosala to be Udayana's enemy. The disaster was thought by Yaugandharāyaṇa to be so serious that the help of Pradyota, which was naturally expected, was not regarded to be sufficient, and a marriage alliance with the royal house of Magadha was considered indispensable. But this was possible only if Udayana agreed to marry Padmāvatī, sister of the Magadha king. Udayana, however, was so attached to Vāsavadattā that he could not brook the idea of having another wife so long as she was alive. Vāsavadattā must, therefore, disappear for a time, thought the Prime Minister, so that Udayana could believe her to be dead and

60 See p. 358.

61 See pp. 60-61.

could therefore agree to marry Padmāvati. When once the king was out a-hunting, the place was set on fire, as previously planned, after Vāsavadattā and Yaugandharāyaṇa quietly left it. Everybody thought that the latter two had been consigned to the flames. On his return when the king knew about the disaster, he was overwhelmed with grief from which, however, in course of time he recovered. There was thus no difficulty in bringing about the contemplated marriage alliance, and Udayana was married to Padmāvati. Soon after his marriage and before he left Rājagṛha, his minister Rumaṇvat had already, apparently with the help sent by Mahāsena,⁶² driven away Āruṇi from the Vatsa kingdom and to the north of the Ganges, where it seems he was joined by Udayana along with the forces of the Magadha king, with the express object of killing Āruṇi. And we may assume that he soon succeeded in accomplishing his object.

According to the Pāli Buddhist canon, Udayana had a son named Bodhi, who most probably is identical with Vahnara of the Purāṇas. Bodhi is represented as ruling over the Bhagga country at Sumsumāragiri, apparently as *Yuvarāja* ⁶³ He got a *vaḍḍhaki* or carpenter to build for him a palace which he called Kokanada; but fearing that the artisan may build a similar excellent palace for another prince, Bodhi had his eyes plucked out. There is a *suttanta* in the *Majjhima-nikāya* which is devoted to him and is called *Bodhi-rāja-kumāra-sutta*. Beyond this we know nothing reliable about this dynasty.⁶⁴ Such is also the case with the dynasty that ruled over the Avanti country with its capital at Ujjain. I have just mentioned that a king of this family was Pradyota, who

62 There can be no doubt that Mahāsena sent succour to Udayana as the latter acknowledges it (*Svapnavā.*, p. 68).

63 *Jat.*, Vol. III, p. 157.

64 For the anecdote about Udayana and Piṇḍola, see *Jat.*, Vol. IV, p. 375

was a contemporary of the Buddha. The Purāṇas make him the founder of the dynasty. In Bhāsa's dramas, he is frequently called Mahāsena. From his queen Aṅgaravatī, he had a daughter named Vāsavadattā espoused by Udayana, as mentioned above. We do not know much about his conquests, and all we know about him in this respect is the statement of the *Majjhimanikāya*⁶⁵ that Ajātaśatru, king of Magadha, was fortifying his capital Rājagṛha because he was afraid of an invasion of his territory by Pradyota. Bhāsa speaks of his two sons, viz., Gopāla and Pālaka.⁶⁶ Gopāla, it is said, was of the same age as Udayana. The *Kathāsaritsāgara*⁶⁷ says that after the death of Pradyota, Gopāla abdicated the throne of Ujjain in favour of his younger brother Pālaka. This is not improbable, and also accounts for the omission of his name in the Purāṇas. The *Mṛcchakaṭika*⁶⁸ further tells us that Pālaka was ousted by Āryaka, son of Gopāla, who was in hiding for a long time in a settlement of herdsmen. What appears to be the truth is that Pradyota was succeeded not by Gopāla, but by his younger brother Pālaka, and that Gopāla's son Āryaka, not liking the idea of being deprived of the throne, conspired against his uncle, and succeeded in usurping the throne. The Purāṇas omit the name of Gopāla, -- which is not strange as he resigned the throne in favour of his brother, and mention those of Pālaka and Āryaka. The latter is mentioned as Ajaka, which I have no doubt stands for Ajjaka, i. e. Āryaka.⁶⁹ They, however, place one Viśākhayūpa between Pālaka and Āryaka—which is a mistake. Viśākhayūpa, if there was a prince of such a name in this

65 Vol. III, p. 7.

66 *Pratijñāyau.*, 35.

67 III. 62-63. I am indebted to Mr. H. K. Deb for this reference.

68 Bomb. Sans. Ser., pp. 180, 306.

69 This identification was first proposed by K. P. Jayaswal (*JBORS.*, 1915, p. 107).

dynasty, must have come after Āryaka. We now pass on to the Kosala dynasty. The only princes of this royal family known to us from the Buddhist works are Pasenadi and his son Viḍūḍabha. I suspect that they belonged to the Ikṣvāku family described by the Purāṇas which, in the enumeration of its members, mention one Prasenajit which, I think, is the Sanskrit form of Pasenadi. Kṣudraka is mentioned as the name of Prasenajit's son, and it is possible that this was another name of Viḍūḍabha. The *Majjhimanikāya*⁷⁰ calls Pasenadi king of Kāśi-Kosala, and from the preamble of the *Bhaddasāla Jātaka*,⁷¹ we learn that the territory held by the Śākyaas was also subordinate to him. Pasenadi had an *amātya* called Siri-Vaḍḍha and a favourite elephant named Ekapuṇḍarīka.⁷² One of his queens was Mallikā, who was originally a daughter of the chief of garland-makers in Śrāvastī.⁷³ She was only sixteen when Pasenadi married her and as she was married when he was at war with Ajātaśatru, she seems to have been married at his practically old age by Pasenadi. Nevertheless, Mallikā predeceased him. Pasenadi had a daughter called Vajirā or Vajirī. She was married to Ajātaśatru, as I shall tell you later on. With a pious desire to become a kinsman of the Buddha, Pasenadi sent envoys to the Śākyaas with a request to give him a Śākya girl in marriage. The Śākyaas, through their pride of birth, were unwilling to give him any girl of pure blood, and sent one Vāsabhakhattiyā, born to a Śākya named Mahānāman from a slave woman. She was married to king Pasenadi and raised to the rank of the Chief Queen.⁷⁴ She gave birth to Viḍūḍabha who succeeded him. When Viḍūḍabha became a grown-

70 II. 111.

71 *Jāt.*, Vol. IV, pp. 144 ff.

72 *Majjh.*, Vol. II, p. 112.

73 *Jāt.*, Vol. III, p. 405.

74 *Āṅgut.*, Vol. III, p. 57.

up boy, he went, against the wishes of his mother, to the Śākya country where he was subjected to a series of indignities. There the real origin of his mother became known. The news reached the ears of Pasenadi who was enraged with the Śākyas and degraded both Vāsabhakhattiyā and Viḍūḍabha, but reinstated them upon the intercession of the Buddha. As soon as Viḍūḍabha came to the throne, he marched to the Śākya territory, massacred the Śākyas, and thus wreaked his vengeance for which he was burning ever since he came to know about the fraud practised by them. It is said that thrice the Buddha dissuaded Viḍūḍabha from carrying out this wholesale carnage of the Śākyas ; but it is difficult to say how far this is true. From Buddhist works we gather a great deal about the fights between the rulers of Kosala and Magadha ; but about these we shall come to know shortly,

We now come to describe the dynasty or rather the dynasties that ruled over Magadha. The first of these is the family to which belonged Bimbisāra and his son Ajātaśatru, who, you will remember, were contemporaries of the Buddha. The authority which is generally followed in giving an account of this family is the Purāṇas. But there is another authority, which is more reliable, but which is neglected. I mean the Sinhalese chronicle *Mahāvamsa*. The Purāṇic account, I am afraid, is anything but satisfactory, so far as the order of succession, at any rate, is concerned, though I quite believe the scraps of information they supply in regard to some princes. According to the Purāṇas, Śiśunāga was the founder of this dynasty, and Bimbisāra was its fourth prince. And they also tell us that the Prodyota dynasty consisted of five kings and that they were supplanted by Śiśunāga. Bimbisāra is thus ten generations removed from Pradyota, whereas, as a matter of fact, we know that both were contemporaries of each other, being contemporaries of the Buddha. Again, though the tradition as to individual names is not very

unstable in the different Purāṇas, the same cannot be said in regard to the period of the individual reigns which vary considerably. What is also strange is that they assign a period of 363 years to ten consecutive reigns, *i. e.*, at least 36 years to each reign which is quite preposterous and utterly unknown to Indian history.⁷⁵ This indicates a desperate attempt on the part of the Purāṇas to fill up the gaps in the chronology anyhow—an inference which entirely agrees with their attempt at reduplicating names and assigning them to consecutive kings, such as Kṣemadharman and Kṣemavit, Nandivardhana and Mahānandin, and so forth. Further, it is worthy of note that the *Mahāvamsa* mentions the name of king Munda, which is entirely omitted from the Purāṇa list. The existence of this king is now sufficiently attested by the *Aṅguttaranikāya* and the *Aśokāvadāna*. Next, the *Mahāvamsa* makes Udayabhadda (or Udāyi) the immediate successor of Ajātaśatru; but the Purāṇas place one Darśaka in between. That surely is highly questionable, because the *Dighanikāya* speaks of Udayabhadda as Ajātaśatru's son; but we have no such evidence in respect of Darśaka. I am aware, it may be argued that Darśaka has, as a matter of fact, been mentioned by Bhāsa in the *Svapnavāsavadatta* as a king of Magadha, whose sister Padmāvatī was married to Udayana of Kauśāmbī, and that it is possible that he was another son of Ajātaśatru and might have been the latter's immediate successor, his brother Udayabhadda coming to the throne after him. But this argument does not appear to be sound to me, because how old, I ask, could Udayana be when he married Padmāvatī? To make the case favourable to the other side, we will suppose that he was wedded to her in the very first year of Darśaka's accession to the throne. We know that the Buddha preached not only to Udayana but

75 Most of these arguments have been already urged by W. Geiger in his translation of the *Mahāvamsa* (PTS ed.) Intro., pp. xliv ff.

also to his son Bodhi. To make the case more favourable, we shall suppose that Bodhi was then only sixteen years old and that he was born when Udayana also was sixteen. Udayana thus must have been at least thirty-two years old, when the Buddha preached to Bodhi. We will also concede that Buddha died the same year that he delivered the sermon to Bodhi. And we know that the Buddha died in the eighth regnal year of Ajātaśatru and that the latter reigned twenty-four years after the Buddha's death. We thus see that Udayana was at least thirty-two years old when the Buddha died and therefore fifty-six years old when Ajātaśatru ceased to reign. Udayana was thus married in his fifty-seventh year, *i.e.*, in the first year of Darśaka's reign. Is it the proper age for the hero to make love to the heroine, and is it proper for the poet to describe it ?⁷⁶ Verily there must be some mistake somewhere. Bhāsa evidently followed the tradition that was current in his time, *i. e.*, most probably in the third century A. D. By

76 I admit that Udayana's marriage with Padmāvatī was of a political character, and that it is quite possible to argue that it does not matter if the hero represented is in the decline of his age. On the other hand, however, we have to note first that the *Svapnavāsavadatta* is not a political drama like the *Mudrārākṣasa*. Secondly, what I cannot understand is the love-sickness of the newly wedded couple which is certainly described in the drama and which such a dramatist of fine delicate sentiment as Bhāsa would certainly have suppressed if he had thought that Udayana was on the other side of fifty. At p. 35, Udayana speaks of himself as being pierced by the sixth arrow of the god of love. At p. 49, the Vidūṣaka refers to the *Madan-āgni-dāha* of Udayana caused by his second marriage and intensified by the bereavement of his first queen. In Act V, we are told that Padmāvatī is laid up with a headache, of course caused through love-sickness, to remove which her meeting with Udayana is being arranged for. I am sure that all these references to the love-sickness of the lovers Bhāsa would have studiously avoided if, according to him, they had been an ill-assorted couple. [The criticism seems to be uncalled for when the conventional nature of the Sanskrit poems (including dramas) is taken into consideration. Kings often married and had children in sufficiently advanced age.—D.C.S.]

that time, the Purāṇas, through the corruption of their texts, must have become full of contradictions and discrepancies, and must have been more than once tampered with to make them yield an intelligent story. For these reasons I cannot help thinking that it is not safe to rely upon the account furnished by the Purāṇas for this early period so far at any rate as the order of succession and the duration of individual reigns are concerned. The tradition preserved in the *Mahāvamsa* about the Magadha dynasties seems to me more reliable. At least, no inaccuracies or blunders have yet been detected in the account of this chronicle, which wonderfully agrees with the scraps of information which the Purāṇas furnish for some princes.

I have already told you that the two rulers of Magadha who were contemporaries of the Buddha were Bimbisāra and his son Ajātaśatru. The name of the family to which Bimbisāra belonged is not definitely known; but it seems that it was Nāga. The last prince of Bimbisāra's dynasty is called Nāga Dāsaka by the *Mahāvamsa*. The second component of the name, viz., Dāsaka, doubtless corresponds to the name Darśaka of the Purāṇas. And the name Nāga has been prefixed to Dāsaka to distinguish him from his successor who belonged to a somewhat different family and who has therefore been called Susu-Nāga, or Little Nāga. Darśaka, and thus Bimbisāra, belonged to the Great Nāga dynasty. We do not know whether any kings of his dynasty preceded Bimbisāra. They have certainly not been mentioned by the *Mahāvamsa*; but there was no need for this chronicle to mention them, its sole object being to describe the events of the period beginning with the Buddha and not anterior to him. The Purāṇas no doubt represent at least four kings to have ruled before Bimbisāra, but their authority for this period, as I have just stated, is disputable. The probability is that Bimbisāra was the founder of his dynasty, because Bimbisāra has in the

Pāli Canon been called *Seniya*, which is the same thing as *Senāpati*.* We know that Puṣpamitra, founder of the Śuṅga dynasty, was designated *Senāpati*, and we have the authority of the Purāṇas that Puṣpamitra was actually the commander-in-chief of the last king of the Maurya family that he supplanted. It is not at all impossible that Bimbisāra was the general of the power that ruled over Magadha before him and that, if he did not actually destroy it, he at any rate declared his independence and carved out a kingdom for himself. The question here arises : who could be exercising sway over Magadha prior to Bimbisāra ? A passage in one of the oldest Buddhist documents speaks of Vesālī as *Māgadham purāṇ*,⁷⁷ capital of the Magadha country. If Vesālī was thus the capital of the Magadha kingdom, it is quite possible that it was at the expense of the Vajjis that Bimbisāra secured territory for himself.** According to the Purāṇas, Magadha was originally held by the Bārhadratha family. Then, it seems, occurred the inroads of the Vajjis who held Magadha. In the early years of the Buddha, Bimbisāra thus appears to have seized Magadha after expelling the Vajjis beyond the Ganges and to have established himself at Rājagṛha, the old capital of the

⁷⁷ *Suttanipāṭa*, p. 185, v. 38.

*[This is dubious. *Seniya* may be Sanskrit *Śālnika*, *Śreṇika*, *Śreṇya*, *Śyenika*, etc. A commentator says that Bimbisāra was called *Seniya* either because he had a large army or because he belonged to the *Seniya-gotta*. A *Śenika-gotra* (probably *Śālnika* from the name *Śālni*) is of course mentioned in the Andhau inscriptions, though Bimbisāra's name *Seniya* is similar to Ajātaśatru's name *Kuṇika*. According to Buddhist sources, Bimbisāra's father was Bhāti or Bhātiya, the king of Magadha, and he ascended the throne of the latter at the age of fifteen. See Malahasekera, *Dict. PPN*, s. v. The *Buddhacarita* (XI. 2) assigns Bimbisāra to the *Haryāṅka-kula*. —D.C.S.].

** [This is due to confusion and is impossible. Magadha was originally the Patnā-Gayā region, and Vaiśālī, which is far away from it, could have been the Magadha capital only after its expansion to a big kingdom at a later date, not before the transfer of the capital from Rājagṛha to Pāṭaliputra. See p.4, note * above.]

kingdom. This was not the only conquest achieved by him. Bimbisāra conquered Aṅga also and incorporated it into his dominions. In the *Majjhimanikāya*,⁷⁸ we have mention of a king of Aṅga who gave a daily pension of 500 Kārṣāpaṇas to a Brāhmaṇa. The name of this king has not been specified; but there can be little doubt that it was this prince from whom Bimbisāra wrested Aṅga. It was doubtless these conquests that gave Bimbisāra sovereignty over 80,000 townships,⁷⁹ the overseers of which, it appears, he was in the habit of calling to an assembly for personally discussing state matters and receiving his instructions.

The *Mahāvagga*⁸⁰ says that Bimbisāra had 500 wives. Of these one was, we know, a Vaidehī (Videha princess). According to an early Jain authority, she was Cellaṇā, daughter of Ceṭaka, a Licchavi Chief of Vaiśālī.⁸¹ It is quite possible that matrimonial alliance was a result of the peace concluded after the war between Bimbisāra and the Licchavis. Another of his queens was Kosaladevī, daughter of Mahākosala, who was the father of Pasenadi. The father, when he married his daughter to king Bimbisāra, gave a village of the Kāsi country, yielding a revenue of a hundred thousand, as her *nahāna-cuṇṇa-mūla*, i.e. bath and perfume money.⁸² From his Vaidehī queen Bimbisāra had a son called Ajātaśatru.⁸³ He had also another son named Abhaya; but we do not know who the latter's other son was. When Abhaya was once going

78 II. 163.

79 *Mahāvagga*, v. 1. 1. ff. [This number is exaggerated and conventional.—D. C. S.]

80 VIII. 1. 15.

81 *SBE*, Vol. XXII, Intro., p. xiii.

82 *Jāt.*, Vol. II, pp. 403, line 15.

83 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 121-22 make Kosaladevī to be Ajātaśatru's mother, and the *Saṃyuttan.*, Vol. I, p. 84, speaks of him as *bhāgineyya* to Pasenadi. But this is a mistake, because, in the *Cullavagga*, Ajātaśatru is invariably called *Vedehiputto*. [The step-mother may be loosely called one's mother.—D. C. S.]

to attend upon his father, king Bimbisāra, he saw an infant exposed on a dust-heap.⁸⁴ He took up the infant, nourished him, and named him Jivaka Komārabhacca. Jivaka went to Takṣaṣilā and learnt the science of medicine. He returned to Rājagṛha and showed his expert knowledge by speedily curing king Bimbisāra of fistula. Bimbisāra was so pleased that he appointed Jivaka as physician to the royal household and to the fraternity of the Bhikṣus headed by the Buddha. Bimbisāra had at least two more sons. One of them was Śīlavat born at Rājagṛha.⁸⁵ The other was Vimala-Koṇḍañña from Queen Ambapālī.⁸⁶ As Vimala bears the Brāhmaṇa clan-name of Koṇḍañña (Kaunḍinya), it appears that his mother was a Brāhmaṇa woman. The princes, Abhaya, Śīlavat and Vimala, all became Buddhist monks, probably through fear of Ajātaśatru after he had become king. When by murdering his father, as we shall just see, Ajātaśatru seized the throne, he must have attempted to assassinate his brothers also; they therefore must have thought it discreet to embrace Buddhism and become monks. We have evidence at least in the case of Śīlavat whom, according to the *Theratherīgāthā*, Ajātaśatru was anxious to put to death.

I have just referred to the murder of Bimbisāra by his son Ajātaśatru. The story is just this. Being instigated by Devadatta, cousin but enemy of the Buddha, Ajātaśatru conceived the design of killing his father and obtaining the kingdom. With that object in view, he once entered the private chamber of the king at an unusual hour with a dagger in his hand. He was, however, seized upon by the officers in attendance and taken before the king. On learning that his son wanted to kill him because he wanted the kingdom, Bimbisāra at once handed over the reins of government to

84 *Mahāvagga*, VIII. 1. 4 ff.

85 *Theragūthā*, trans., p. 259.

86 *Ibid.*, p. 65.

him.⁸⁷ But the prince was not satisfied with this, and in order to make his position quite secure, he managed, at the advice of Devadatta, to kill his father by starvation. While once he was listening to a sermon of the Buddha, he was suddenly stricken with remorse and confessed his sin before him.⁸⁸ Although there is no sound reason to distrust the story of this parricide, the explanation which Buddhist texts give of his name, viz. Ajātaśatru, scarcely deserves any credence. It is said that even when he was in his mother's womb, he conceived a longing for his father's blood, which was gratified only by the mother drinking it from the right knee of Bimbisāra, and that because he had thus been his father's enemy (*śatru*), while yet unborn (*ajāta*) he was named Ajātaśatru. This is nothing but a pun.⁸⁹

I have told you that when king Mahākosala, father of Pasenadi, married his daughter to Bimbisāra, he granted a Kāsi village as dowry. When Ajātaśatru put Bimbisāra to death, Kosaladevi died of grief. For sometime after her death, Ajātaśatru continued to enjoy the revenues of this village; but Pasenadi resolved that no parricide should have a village which was his by right of inheritance and so confiscated it. There was thus war betwixt Ajātaśatru and Pasenadi. The former was fierce and strong, and the latter old and feeble. So Pasenadi was beaten again and again. Now, at the time when he had returned to his capital Śrāvastī after suffering his last reverse, the Buddha was staying close by with his fraternity of Bhikṣus. Amongst those there were many who formerly were officers of the king. Two of these at dawn one day were discussing the nature of the war, and one of them emphatically declared that, if Pasenadi but

⁸⁷ *Cullavagga*, VII. 3. 5.

⁸⁸ *Jāt.*, Vol., V. pp. 261-62; *Dīghan.*, Vol. I, p. 85; *Sac. Bk. Bud.*, Vol. II, p. 94.

⁸⁹ *Jāt.*, Vol. III, pp. 121-22.

gave Ajātaśatru battle by arranging his army in the *śakaṭa-vyūha* array, he could have him like a fish in lobster pot. The king's couriers, who happened to overhear the conversation, informed him. Pasenadi seized the hint, and immediately set out with a great host. He took Ajātaśatru prisoner and bound him in chains. After a few days he released him, gave him his daughter, Princess Vajirā, in marriage, and dismissed her with that Kāsi village for her bath-money, which was for long the bone of contention between the two royal families.⁹⁰

Ajātaśatru was at war also with the Licchavis of Vesālī. I have already told you that his mother was a Vaidehī princess. This means that she belonged to the Licchavi clan.* Ajātaśatru was thus at war with his relations on his mother's side. He seems to have pursued the policy inaugurated by his father. We have seen that it was at the expense of the Licchavis that Bimbisāra made himself master of the Magadha kingdom. And now his son Ajātaśatru conceived the design of destroying the independence of the Licchavis. It appears that at this time the Ganges separated the Magadha kingdom from the Videha state, and that Pāṭaligrāma, which afterwards rose to great importance and became celebrated as Pāṭaliputra, was then on the frontier of the Magadha territory. At any rate, this is the impression produced on our mind on reading the *Mahāparinibbānasutta*,⁹¹ which is concerned with the decease of the Buddha. The same *Sutta* also gives us the impression that Pāṭaligrāma was on the road from Vesālī to Rājagṛha. It was therefore, absolutely necessary to fortify Pāṭaligrāma. And when, shortly before his death, the Buddha visited Pāṭaligrāma, Sunidha and

⁹⁰ *Jāt.*, Vol. II, pp. 237, 403-04; Vol. IV. p. 343; *Samyuttan.*, Vol. I, pp. 83-85.

*[This is not certain.—D. C. S.]

⁹¹ I. 26; *Mahāvagga*, VI. 28. 7 ff.

Vassakāra, Chief Ministers of Magadha, were busy building a fortress there to repel the Vajjis, *i. e.*, Licchavis. The Jain *Nṛayāvalisūtra* informs us that Ajātaśatru fixed a quarrel on Ceṭaka, his grandfather who was a Licchavi Chief of Vesālī, and went forth to attack him.⁹² Nine confederate Licchavi and nine confederate Malla kings came to Ceṭaka's assistance; but it was of no avail, and the Vajjis or Licchavis were ere long subjected to the sway of Ajātaśatru along with the Mallas.

Ajātaśatru was succeeded by his son Udayabhadra who is no doubt the same as the Udāyin of the Purāṇas. According to the *Dīghanikāya*, as we have seen, Ajātaśatru looked upon him as his favourite son; but it was this favourite son who, for the sake of kingdom, murdered his father, as the *Mahāvamsa*⁹³ tells us. The Purāṇas say that he made Kusumapura on the southern bank of the Ganges his capital.⁹⁴ Kusumpura is but another name for Pāṭaliputra, and there is nothing strange in Udayabhadra's removing his capital from Rājagṛha to Pāṭaliputra. The Magadha kingdom was very much extended during the reign of Ajātaśatru. The dominions of the Licchavis and Mallas and some parts of even Kosala were annexed to it. Such an extensive kingdom required a central capital, and this idea was well fulfilled by Pāṭaliputra, which, though in the first instance it was fortified to repel and subdue the Licchavis, admirably served the purpose of a central seat of government.

Udayabhadra reigned for sixteen years. He was succeeded by Anuruddha, and the latter by Muṇḍa. A period of eight years has been assigned to them. No reference to Anuruddha has so far been traceable in the Buddhist literature; but the *Anguttaranikāya*⁹⁵ does make mention of Muṇḍa, king of

92 *SBE*, Vol. II, Intro., p. xiv.

93 IV. 1.

94 Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 22, 69. [The Purāṇas really refer to the building of the city in Udayin's fourth regnal year. 'Udayin' is better.—D. C. S.]

95 III. 57 ff.

Pāṭaliputra. His queen, Bhadradevī died, and the king was simply overwhelmed with grief. His treasurer Priyaka became intensely anxious on his account, and arranged for an interview between the king and Nārada, a Buddhist monk, who had at that time come to Pāṭaliputra in the course of his religious tour. Nārada's religious discourse made a deep impression on Muṇḍa and gave him strength of mind to overcome his grief.

Muṇḍa was succeeded by Nāga-Dāsaka. I have already told you that Dāsaka of this composite name corresponds to the name Darśaka of the Purāṇas, and Nāga was prefixed to his name to show that he pertained to the principal Nāga dynasty. The tradition mentioned by Bhāsa that Padmāvatī, married to Udayana, was his sister does not appear to be probable, and you have already seen the reasons I have set forth. The *Mahāvamsa* says that, from Ajātaśatru down to Darśaka, we had kings who were parricides, and that the people, who were, therefore, disgusted with this dynasty, aided one Susu-Nāga, who was an *amātya* or minister apparently of Darśaka, to oust him and secure the throne. Susu-Nāga, as I have said, does not seem to be a proper name. It denotes a branch of the Nāga family, and, as sometimes a king is designated by his family name alone without specification of his individual name, the family name Susu-Nāga, or Śiśu-Nāga of the Purāṇas, has been employed to denote the usurper of Darśaka's sovereignty. Anyhow, this usurper was not an outsider, but a prince of the Nāga dynasty, though of a branch line. The Purāṇas inform us that Susu-Nāga annihilated the renown of the Pradyota dynasty, placed his son at Vārāṇasī or Benares, and made Girivraja (Rājgir) his capital.⁹⁶ The Purāṇas evidently tell us that Susu-Nāga made himself master not only of Magadha but also of Avantī

⁹⁶ Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text*, etc., pp. 21, 68.

and Kāsi-Kosala. This seems to be correct, and to this we may add that he probably annexed the Vatsa kingdom also to his empire. We know that Pradyota, Pasenadi (Prasenajit), Bimbisāra and Udayana were contemporaries, and their families, curiously enough, became extinct four generations after them, *i. e.*, about the time of Susu-Nāga's rise. The latter was thus practically a ruler of the whole of Northern India except the Punjab. Being thus a powerful monarch and practically of the same family as Bimbisāra, he was, in later times when the Purāṇas were recast, placed at the head of the family, and all the kings styled Śiśunāga were placed after him. Śiśunāga reigned for eighteen years and was succeeded by his son Aśoka. To distinguish him from Aśoka, the Maurya emperor, he was designated Kālāśoka, the epithet *kāla* indicating his dark complexion. This also explains why he was called Kākavarṇa in the Purāṇas. As a Burmese tradition informs us, he removed his capital from Rājagṛha to Pāṭaliputra.⁹⁷ This is exactly in keeping with the *Mahāvamsa*⁹⁸ which represents Kālāśoka as established at Puṣpapura, *i. e.* Pāṭaliputra. The only event which, we know, took place in the reign of Kālāśoka was the holding of the second Buddhist Council. It was held at Vesālī under this king in the year 383-382 B. C. and led to the separation of the Mahāsāṃghikas from the Theravāda.⁹⁹ Kālāśoka reigned for twenty-eight years only. After him his ten sons conjointly ruled over the Magadha empire. Their names are : (1) Bhadrasena, (2) Koraṇḍavarṇa, (3) Maṅgura, (4) Sarvañjaha, (5) Jālīka, (6) Ubhaka, (7) Sañjaya, (8) Koravya, (9) Nandivardhana and (10) Pañcamaka.¹⁰⁰ Nandivardhana of this list is most probably

97 *SBE*, Vol. XI, Intro, p. xvi.

98 IV. 32.

99 *Mahāvamsa*, trans. Geiger, Intro., p. lix.

100 *Mahābodhivamsa*, p. 98.

Nandivardhana of the Purāṇic list.¹⁰¹ These ten brothers held joint sway over the Magadha dominions for about twenty-two years and were supplanted by the Nanda dynasty. Nine members of this dynasty are said in the *Mahāvamsa*¹⁰² to have reigned in succession and for a period of twenty-two years. They were most probably one father and eight sons as mentioned in the Purāṇas.¹⁰³ They were (1) Ugrasena, (2) Paṇḍuka, (3) Paṇḍugati, (4) Bhūtapāla, (5) Rāṣṭrapāla, (6) Goviṣāṇaka, (7) Daśasiddhaka, (8) Kaivarta and (9) Dhana.¹⁰⁴ As Ugrasena heads the list, it seems that he was the father and the remaining princes his sons. The chief of the Nandas, according to all the Purāṇas, is Mahāpadma. The commentary on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* says that he was so called because he was the lord of soldiers or wealth numbering or amounting to 100,000 millions.* Probably the correct meaning would be that he was master of as big an army as could be arrayed in a *padma-vyūha* or lotus fashion.¹⁰⁵ This agrees with the fact that, in Buddhist works, he has been styled Ugrasena, i.e. 'possessed of a terrific army'.

The Purāṇas say that Ugrasena-Mahāpadma was so powerful that he uprooted all the Kṣatriyas like Paraśurāma, brought the whole earth under one royal umbrella, and made himself *eka-rāṭ*, 'sole monarch'. Let us pause here for a moment and see what this means. I have told you that, shortly before the Buddha lived, that part of India which was

101 Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

102 V. 15.

103 In this respect, the Purāṇas agree among themselves. They, however, differ in regard to the sequence of their rule, some saying that they all reigned conjointly, and some, in succession.

104 *Mahābodhivamsa, loc. cit.* [In Sanskrit, *Pāṇḍuka* and *Pāṇḍugati*.—D. C. S.]

* [See Wilson, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, reprint, p. 374 n.—D. C. S.]

105 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLIV, pp. 49-50.

ocean and with an area of a thousand *yojanas*. This no doubt answers to the extent of the Mauryan empire, and as from the language of Kauṭilya the *Cakravartin* was not an unfamiliar figure in his time, it appears that there was at least one *Cakravartin* before the Mauryas came to power, and there is, therefore, nothing strange in our taking Mahāpadma to be a *Cakravartin* on the authority of the Purāṇas. It is time therefore to give up the view that the Indians for the first time gained their idea of *Cakravartin* from Alexander's invasion.*

* [For the *Cakravartin* and his *kṣetra*, see Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 1 ff. The Purāṇas have a list of peoples who ruled contemporaneously with the predecessors of the Nandas, and these are the powers that must have been extirpated by Mahāpadma. They are—24 Ikṣvākus, 27 Pañcālas, 24 Kāśis, 28 Haihayas, 32 Kaliṅgas, 25 Āśmakas, 36 Kurus, 28 Maithilas, 23 Śūrasenas and 20 Viṭhotras—all of them ruling as contemporaries of the Śaśunāgas (Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24, 69). Out of the sixteen Mahājanapas, at least Gandhāra and Kamboja certainly lay outside Mahā-padma's empire.—D. C. S.]